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Sub-Saharan Africa Report

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7 August 1984

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INCREASE OF ONE-PARTY, MILITARY ROLE IN AFRICA NOTED

London AFRICA NOW in English Jul 84 pp 46-47

[Article by Abdul Rahman Mohammed Babu: "Whither Africa?"]

[Text]

There was the problem of safeguarding internal security and national sovereignty; the problem of establishing a secure and functioning political and administrative system, an absolutely essential condition for any national progress to get under way.

There was the problem of establishing a civil service free from the paralysis of the corruptions of colonial rule — the corruption of too much power and the corruption of material gains; above all, the problem of establishing a viable and legitimate political leadership.

Secondly, as the above problems were being tackled, there were also new and pressing problems of the development process and its after-effects, especially when the enthusiasm for national unity which accompanied the euphoria of independence was beginning gradually to die out.

Among the most outstanding of these problems were:

- Economic hardships, which almost everywhere resulted from structural lopsidedness but were never corrected by the new regimes

- The problem of the international system of exploitation and plunder on which a large part of our economic activity depended

- The disruptive effects on the economy of the umpteen but essentially useless and often disastrous experiments in the development exercise which verges on the adventurous.

All these created unfavourable but at the same time challenging conditions which could either make or break the new society. These conditions have proved to be stubborn and continue to be with us to this day, giving us a lot of headaches.

There was the problem of the need for a unified and centralised leadership for which the inherited post-colonial constitution did

African nations, like most other developing countries, are undergoing serious economic, social and political crises. There is also the crisis of a lack of leadership in the face of these other momentous problems. What has gone wrong?

It is true that our countries are going through serious "birth pains" having attained our independence only two decades ago. Relative instability has always been our permanent feature, due for the most part to our way of organising ourselves and our institutions, especially the principal political institution, the State. Let us begin with the following observations which might stimulate discussion.

New countries as a rule have to grapple with myriads of problems, all of which are part of the inevitable process of the transition from colonialism to mature independence. The process has many facets: the slow psychological recovery from the shock and traumas of alien-colonial rule and, in Africa especially, the recovery from the shocks of racial oppression; the necessity to establish and consolidate national integrity at a time when the world was plagued by the Cold War and by the threats of a nuclear war; the need to find a clear and secure part in a world that was, in the final analysis, influenced more by the argument of force than by the force of an argument. In other words, the problem of having to face all these problems when we were so vulnerable as young nations.

These young nations had furthermore to confront the immense social, economic and ultimately political problems that were the stock-in-trade of every new nation faced with new experiences in self-governing. There was the problem of the unity of the State and Nation and the need to establish appropriate national morality and a code of conduct.

not provide because of the colonialists' insistence on leaving behind the so-called "Westminster model" democracy in which political factions would fight out their differences publicly through organised political parties, and the principle is accepted that governments could be voted in and out of power through the ballot and be replaced by the opposing party.

The fear that this practice might let loose centrifugal forces — which are latent in any new society that was artificially created by colonialism and with potential for internal divisions — this fear has led most of our new regimes towards the perilous direction of the one-party state. Perilous because of its potential for totalitarian dictatorship and despotism.

Sure enough, it did not take long for these societies to realise that the one-party system has created infinitely more serious problems than the ones it intended to pre-empt.

It has, especially brought about three frightening scourges which have now afflicted Africa like a terminal chronic disease. In the first place, the system has spread throughout Africa with a terrific speed and in its wake it has established conditions which made it easier for it to be supplanted by the military jackboots.

It has created its own advocates and "philosophers" to try and justify it, most often when these philosophers were themselves the power-holders of the state; and when the military decided to take over, they quoted the philosophy of the very leaders they had overthrown to justify their treachery.

Sukarno in Indonesia, Nkrumah in Ghana, etc., shared the same misfortune at the hands of the army they themselves had created. Sekou Touré has been saved the agony because, like the Artful Dodger that he was, he dodged his overthrow by dying three weeks before the army took over. The military in almost all cases are cheered by the people with embarrassing enthusiasm.

Secondly, the one-party state has introduced a terrible misconception in political thought and practice, namely, that, if you oppose the government you oppose the nation and therefore you are a traitor. This is, of course, perfectly convenient for those in power since it insulates them from mass criticism and they remain in sublime and comfortable ignorance of what is going on until suddenly the army decides to surprise them.

However, if this suits the rulers it is bad for the country; it damages it and demeans it; it effectively deprives the people of the right to take an active role in the politics of their country; it deprives them of the opportunity to correct the rulers' sins of commission and omission in time before they deteriorate to disastrous proportions.

The philosophy of identifying the ruling party and its government with the nation as a whole has shown — roughly since the

advent of Sukarno with his "Guided democracy" in 1949, till the latest event in Guinea-Conakry — how damaging the consequences can be and at what economic, social and political cost to the nation. It depoliticises the population by subjecting them to the methods of regimentation rather than mobilisation (notice how easy it has been for the military to get popular approval in Indonesia, Ghana and now Guinea).

Finally and more importantly, it deprives the nation of the fresh new ideas of the new generation of youth who, under the one-party state, are deprived of such an expression since they have first to conform to the prejudiced ideas of their elders before they can be accepted as "Genuine cadres" of the decaying party, rooted deeply in the *status quo*.

The third damage to the nation is that inevitably and *everywhere* the one-party rule has ended in becoming one-person rule, with all the horrors that this entails. The person in power, as he or she vegetates at the commanding heights of authority, step-by-step surrounds him- or herself with a crowd of harmless, often compromised mediocrities whose allegiance is exclusively and personally to him or her and not to the people as a whole. Like the ancient monarchs before them, they create their own court-jesters and errand-boys.

To break the monotony and boredom of the stagnant economy, the ruler would indulge in shuffling and reshuffling of his Ministers (very often unnecessarily) and the practice has become so scandalous by its rapidity that it has led to some serious leadership inadequacies. It is a known fact, for instance, that no Minister can be effective as political head of the department without mastering its essential details — and that takes at least 18 months (if he is exceptionally sharp, that is).

In other words, the moral rights and wrongs of it apart, the practical application of the one-party system has proved to be most inadequate to deal with the millions of problems which inevitably face the new nations; in fact, the system has itself become the major obstacle to development and to the economic and social wellbeing of the people.

As the economic crisis, which is really the crisis of world capitalism, continues to be shifted on to the new emerging countries of Africa, Asia and Latin America and as these countries are stuck in the quagmire of their own internal social and political instability, the youth of these countries are getting more and more restless as they see ahead of them only a bleak future without leadership or direction. They see the military emerging as the only organised force to the existing chaos.

Does Africa deserve this after so many centuries of heroic struggles and honourable victories? Do we deserve to be identified, because of our desperation, with apartheid, the worst anti-Black racism the world has ever seen? Whither Africa? ●

GROWING EXPORT OF ARMS TO AFRICA REPORTED

London AFRICANOW in English Jul 84 pp 68-70

[Text]

It was reported recently that ARMSCOR, the South African arms production corporation, was selling weapons to Black African states. ARMSCOR refuses to confirm that it is doing so because all sales, according to its sales officials, are conducted on a confidential basis. All that ARMSCOR will say is: "Marketing efforts are being focused on countries with similar conditions and physical features" (to those of South Africa.)

Astonishing as this report will seem, it will not surprise those with any knowledge of the arms market. In the arms business, more weight is often attached to economic than political arguments. Arms manufacturing countries are committed to the hard sale of their weapons so as to improve their balance of payments, ensure employment in their arms industries and reduce their unit costs.

In the present economic climate, there is at present little enthusiasm for any restraint in the trade in arms worldwide. Criticism is muted by strong national economic considerations. The only limitation is that manufacturing countries are at pains to avoid selling arms to nations recognised as potential enemies of themselves or their allies.

This rule has often been more honoured in the breach than in its enforcement. This helps to explain the reported sale of arms by ARMSCOR to Black African states. The two superpowers, the USA and USSR, see arms sales as an instrument of their foreign policies. Apart from the obvious economic benefits, the sale of weapons also helps to gain for the exporting country definite political advantages.

The arms trade is one of the largest businesses in the world, though it is often obscured by the fact that many countries refuse to give accurate figures of their involvement. One of the more reliable estimates is that in 1979 world exports were worth \$23 billion. This figure is taken from *A Survey of World Military Expenditures*

and *Arms Transfers* published by the Arms Control and Disarmament Agency in 1982. According to the survey, Third World countries spent about \$19.2bn on buying arms from abroad.

According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), the 1979-81 Third World share of total arms imports was approximately 62%, compared to a share of 69% for the period 1977-80. The long-term trend in arms sales to the Third World shows that, for each five-year period, total values have approximately doubled compared to the 1962-81 period.

Among the recipient areas of arms imports, Africa has become much more important. In fact, for the 1977-81 period, Africa's share of arms imports was 24%, second only to the Middle East whose share of 44% topped the Third World arms imports league table. The interesting point in this analysis is the extent of the arms build-up in Libya. With a population of 3m, Libya, according to US statistics imported arms greater in value than Syria or Israel in the 1970s, with annual imports at 1978 constant prices rising from \$99m in 1970 to \$2.1bn in 1979.

The major beneficiaries of this growing export business to Africa and the rest of the Third World are the USSR with \$36.13bn, the US \$26.5bn, France \$17.7bn, UK \$7.08bn, Italy \$5.57bn, West Germany \$5.3bn and the rest \$12.4bn. These figures are for export values for the period 1977-1980.

The major arms importers in Africa include Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Algeria, Ethiopia, Somalia, Nigeria, Angola, Sudan, Kenya, Mozambique, Zimbabwe, Zaire and Ghana. Ethiopia, for example, is said to owe the USSR over \$2bn for arms purchased in the past and is currently negotiating to reschedule this debt. Based on SIPRI figures, trend indicator values at constant 1975 prices show that Africa has around 20% of major arms imports.

Africa's average share for the 1977-81 period grew by more than 50% and the trend shows signs of increasing for the next five years.

The conclusions from this data is that arms imports in Africa go to those areas where:

- The incidence of conflict is high
- The superpowers have major strategic interests such as the Horn of Africa
- The countries in a particular region have large standing armies
- Armed forces have begun a major arms procurement programme
- A country has extra-territorial aims on claims.

A significant factor in the growing arms business in Africa is the emergence of new suppliers not previously known in this export trade. They include Israel, Brazil, Argentina, Brazil, Libya and South Africa.

Two factors are responsible for the emergence of the new sellers. The first is that nations such as Israel and Libya seek to maintain an up-to-date ready market for items they regard as obsolescent but which many other African countries see as enhancing their capabilities. This will help explain Libya's reported shipment of \$17m worth of arms to Ghana.

The second is that nations isolated in the international community are driven to establish their own arms industry. To make such industries viable, the internal demand for defence products will have to be augmented by overseas sales.

In 1963, for example, the UN passed an arms embargo on South Africa. One of the odd effects of this embargo on arms sales to South Africa was to lead the South African Government to set up an arms production organisation to help counter the ban. ARMSCOR has increased production to such an extent that South Africa now has a surplus of conventional weapons and ammunition. According to the latest edition of *Jane's Military Review*, South Africa has caught up with and surpassed the rest of the world in many areas of arms production. It has begun a major export drive. The indications are that some of its customers are African countries who oppose apartheid.

ARMSCOR stepped up its international sales campaign six months ago with an article in *Janes Defence Review* and an advertisement which advised potential customers that "when buying arms, the least obvious source may present the most strategic opportunity." ARMSCOR Chairman, Piet Marais, is on record as saying that the South African arms industry is among the top five arms manufacturers in the world: "Thanks to the UN embargo, South Africa has gone from producing virtually no armaments to making 143 types of ammunition."

An analysis of the South African marketing effort and its emphasis on African countries with similar climatic and physical conditions, means that countries in Southern and Central Africa are the ones involved in this trade. It is also possible that Gabon and Zaire, which maintain links with South Africa, may also be involved.

In the face of Africa's increasing economic problems, it is difficult to understand the growing export of arms to Africa and the introduction of South African arms to Southern and Central Africa.

The explanation lies in the type of marketing techniques employed by arms exporters and countries like South Africa. Arms sales are usually financed by credits from the manufacturing country. The more favourable the terms, the greater the potential volume of business the importer is likely to conduct with the exporter. South Africa may well be making available cheap credits as an inducement to those states to import its arms.

This tactic seems plausible, when weighed against reports that several states in Southern Africa maintain accounts in South African Banks. Many of the commercial channels of these countries lead to or through South Africa. South Africa's dominance over the economies of the states of Southern and Central Africa is complete.

A more fundamental reason for the turn to South Africa for arms purchases comes from the fact that these naturally come cheapest and quicker from South Africa. An extra-continental market search for alternative sources of supply is much more expensive than what is presently on offer from South Africa.

Whatever the economic arguments about the arms export business, there is no doubt that some political influence can be obtained in the importing country by the exporter. Arms sales help to win friends in the political establishment of the importing country. With arms purchase comes a whole array of experts who should see to the operational handling, maintenance and training of the armed forces in the importing states. The presence of South African experts in the Ministries of Defence in these countries is likely to add to the political dominance of South Africa over these countries.

A dangerous element for these countries may be in the presence of other "experts" operating under the guise of technical experts. Strategists in South Africa have always argued that their intention in Southern Africa is to create "a shield of instability" to deter incursion and warn South Africa's Blacks of the horrors of majority rule. Behind it, South Africa can pursue her own way. The presence of these experts may help further this objective.

The South Africans are no fools. They have pursued a careful carrot-and-stick strategy with countries in Southern Africa. From time to time a Black nation up north needs to be taught a lesson to emphasise its pre-eminence in the region. Its armoury is formidable. Raids on Maputo, Maseru and Matola have demonstrated the destructive effect of South African military power. Now that the point has been sufficiently made, South Africa is using the carrot approach. Hence the non-aggression pacts in return for which economic assistance will flow to hard-pressed countries in the region. This increases the economic screws and in turn, the sale of arms to some of these countries.

The sale has the political advantage of improving South Africa's standing in the region, but it also ensures that it retains a strategic dominance over states in the region; one which it can use to manipulate them. The prospects of this dominance for the new players of *realpolitik* in South Africa are terrifying in its economic, military and political implications.

As African armed forces are equipped with a growing array of modern weapons, they increase the threshold of their violent capability. This capability can tempt them into intervening in their local politics. It may explain the increasing rate of coups in Africa.

The need to maintain or expand armed forces in Africa may fuel a demand for more weapons to enhance military capability. This can create problems for many national economies in Africa. As more financial outlays are required for such weapons,

priorities for economic and social development will have to be shifted to defence procurement to the detriment of growth in these economies. There is a need now for a balanced view of defence spending on arms buying. If we are not careful, we may mortgage our future for this desire for sophisticated weaponry.

This desire is often due to the interplay of internal political influences. Arms procurements usually intensify fierce competition between various political factors in the state. The commissions are huge. The consequent growth in influence by the successful political players in this purchasing game is an added political bonus. Thus the impression is created that arms imports are often authorised more by the need for its political and economic advantages than by a realistic assessment of the operational requirements of the armed forces.

The growth in arms importation in Africa has also exacerbated conflicts on the continent. Where diplomacy and political action could have diffused disputes, the tendency nowadays appears to be to settle them by the use of force.

Arms transfers to Africa from the East and West and now from South Africa may witness the growth of conflict, encourage military recklessness and political instability. More importantly, it will eventually put our economies under severe strain. The consequence for Africa in the latter part of this century is further impoverishment and instability. Arms are necessary for our defence forces but they should not be procured at the expense of sensible and orderly development ●

CONTROLLING SWAPO 'BIGGEST PROBLEM' IN DISENGAGEMENT PROCESS

Cape Town THE CAPE TIMES in English 9 Jul 84 p 13

[Text]

MR Pik Botha's fence-mending meeting with Angolan officials at Lusaka last Monday has underlined once again the positive and negative aspects of the joint disengagement process.

In a nutshell, the political spirit is willing on both sides — but the Angolans' means of actually carrying out their part of process are weak.

The biggest problem — particularly now that the disengagement process has reached the "shallow area" immediately north of the SWA/Namibian border — is one of controlling Swapo activity.

There are two main aspects to this:

● Swapo is an unwilling participant in the process.

It would seem that Angola — plagued by its struggle with Unita insurgents and hard-hit by South African operations — ordered Swapo to take part in the withdrawal, rather than try to reach a consensus with it.

This cavalier treatment stemmed from Angola's deteriorating civil and military situation. It had suffered grievous losses, particularly in equipment, in three major South African preemptive operations between 1980 and 1984, just when it needed all its military resources to

combat Unita.

These losses were directly connected with Angola's support of Swapo in the SWA/Namibia war.

It is indicative of Angola's stance that in the context of the Lusaka agreement it was willing to accept that Unita was strictly an internal issue and not part of the disengagement process.

Pretoria did not involve Swapo in the run-up to disengagement either, neither was Swapo represented at either of the two Mulungushi conferences at Lusaka in February at which South Africa and Angola reached the withdrawal agreement.

Swapo leaders later made it clear to the Angolan Government that they felt affronted by this lack of recognition, implying that they had been hijacked by the Angolans and ignored by the South Africans, and consequently did not feel any enthusiasm for participation in the withdrawal.

However, the main Swapo leaders reportedly accepted the disengagement concept, in spite of the unfavourable implications for them.

South Africa's attitude is that Swapo is welcome to take part in the internal process as a political party — but must first lay down its arms.

The problem here is

that Mr Sam Nujoma apparently does not exercise full control over his organization's military wing, particularly the elements operating into SWA/Namibia.

● The Angolans are having trouble making Swapo toe the line in the south.

Swapo's southernmost operators pose a formidable control problem for Fapla (the Angolan armed forces).

After 18 years of insurgency, Swapo are used to operating in the bush for long periods, living off the land or subsisting on minimum rations, travelling vast distances on foot and melting into the environment.

By contrast, the average Fapla members are "conventional" rather than counter-insurgency soldiers, trained and equipped mainly for a defensive role.

Inevitably the Fapla soldiers are not as fit as Swapo, seldom undertake bush patrols deeper than about 50km, and are unable to stay out for more than a few days at a time without resupply.

In addition, Fapla has been able to deploy only a few hundred troops for monitoring purposes. It cannot spare more because it is fighting a virtually nationwide campaign against Unita and must also supply men to reoccupy the territories from which the South Af-

ricans have withdrawn.

It is ironic that the Angolan Government is now being over-extended and worn down by the same process it once employed against the Portuguese.

The reoccupation of the south is extremely important for the Angolans. Not only must they present a winner's image to the local population, but they must also secure their position against possible Unita action.

As a result, Fapla is obviously finding it difficult to control the southern Swapo elements located in the "shallow area", particularly since certain elements of Swapo do not feel obliged to co-operate in

the disengagement process.

Indeed, active Swapo groups are border-hopping on a large scale for the first time in years — most likely as a result of the partial vacuum caused by the disengagement in the territory just north of the "shallow area".

Another problem is the sheer size of the so-called "area in question". It is roughly 550km long by 400km deep: generally speaking it is thinly-populated and densely bushed. Roads are poor, telephone communications nonexistent, and the local population is often hostile or apathetic.

RURAL DEVELOPMENT MINISTER VISITS SANTO ANTAO ISLAND

Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 23 Jun 84 p 7

[Article by Abilio Tolentino: "Rural Development Minister Swears in Agricultural Reform Commission"]

[Text] As part of the program of periodic visits for direct contacts with the workers of the MDR [Rural Development Ministry] and farmers, Rural Development Minister Joao Pereira Silva recently paid a working visit to Santo Antao Island where he spent 3 days. The government minister installed the Ribeira Grande Agricultural Reform Commission in office.

During his stay on Santo Antao, Minister Pereira Silva met with the MDR directorate for a discussion of the 1984 investment program with the personnel of the various divisions and with the executive secretary of the Ribeira Grande sector.

On the third day of his visit, the rural development minister met in Paul with local officials and with the Deliberative Council. Accompanied by the first secretary of the Ribeira Grande sector of the PAICV [Cape Verde African Independence Party], the government delegate of the Paul Council, and the regional MDR director, the minister visited the Paul valley while his escorts briefed him on the main difficulties having to do with the distribution of water for irrigation purposes.

Pereira Silva devoted much attention to a water reservoir, the biggest one so far built in the council and on the island.

The auditorium of the Ribeira Grande preparatory school was crowded with people as Minister Pereira Silva swore in that council's Agricultural Reform Commission. The new commission was made up of comrades Antonio Zacarias Brandao, Adriano Monteiro, Albertina Fonseca Silva, and David Monteiro who, in brief but significant remarks, asked for the support of the agencies of the PAICV, the MDR, and especially the beneficiaries of the agricultural reform to guarantee the complete accomplishment of the functions now entrusted to them.

Minister Joao Pereira Silva then spoke briefly about the benefits of the agricultural reform and the importance of the solidarity drive against the effects of the drought.

In talking about the role which the recently installed commission must play, the minister compared it to the function of a people's court. While the latter solves problems that come up in interpersonal relations, the former defends the interests of those who work the land.

The ceremony was also attended by council top officials.

The minister stated that the commissions of the Paul and Porto Novo councils will possibly be sworn in during this month.

"Wiping Out the Centipedes Is No Easy Task"

During a short, 15-minute interview which Joao Pereira Silva granted to VOZ DI POVO, the rural development minister stated that "the fight against pests is not as simple as it might seem." He stressed the fact that pests are causing hunger in many developed countries.

In spite of the efforts made to wipe out the so-called "centipedes," this vermin continues to attack a large part of the crops in Santo Antao. "This type of pest exists only in Cape Verde and this is why we do not have anybody from whom we could copy ways of wiping it out."

Our source informed us that a laboratory is about to be established to fight against pests under the direction of the MDR in Vila da Ribeira Grande. The USAID and the GDR are participating in the financing.

Land is also being purchased for experiments.

"Selling a Good Product Cheap"

Questioned about measures which his ministry will take to guarantee regular supplies of water at Ponta do Sol, the minister replied that the solution to that problem is the responsibility of the administrative secretariat whom the MDR only supports.

However the official informed us that this problem resides in the maintenance of the motor pumps and the distribution network which is too weak to resist pressure because of its age. On the other hand, he added that the low cost of water does not yield enough revenue to cover any expenditures.

As for the supply of water to Lagoa, the minister informed us that the opening of a well in the area is scheduled to take place shortly; although this is a rather expensive operation, it will turn out to be cheaper than bringing water in by truck. But, until that project's completion, the MDR will purchase two trucks to guarantee water supplies to that town.

Since President Aristides Pereira last visited Santo Antao last April, a tank truck has been supplying the place regularly.

Financing for the well project is a part of the small allocation which Holland is offering Cape Verde for water prospecting. The exact budget amount has not yet been specified.

As for the agrarian reform, Joao Pereira Silva said that there is not going to be any distribution of currently useful land unless the owners propose to sell that land to the state. He also said that agricultural reform commissions

will shortly be appointed in the other councils. Finally, regarding the reduction in the sugar cane crop area, to make room for subsistence crops, the minister replied that this idea is currently being contemplated but "for the time being we do not feel that we are strong enough to do that. There is no project along these lines at this time."

5058

CSO: 3442/426

BRIEFS

USSR RICE SHIPMENT--The Soviet vessel "Ivan Rusakov" reached the port of Praia on 18 June with a cargo of 500 tons of rice, offered to the country by the government of the USSR as part of the food aid program given to Cape Verde in response to the appeal issued by the country's government to various countries in the wake of another disastrous farming year. /Text/ /Praia VOZ DI POVO in Portuguese 23 June 84 p 1/ 5058

CSO: 3442/426

TENTH ANNIVERSARY OF COORDINATING COMMITTEE MARKED

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Jun 84 pp 1, 4

[Text] The 10th anniversary of the setting up of the Armed Forces, Police and Territorial Army Co-ordinating Committee was marked yesterday at the Grand Palace in the presence of Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Present at the ceremony were COPWE Executive Committee members, PMAC Standing Committee members and other invited guests.

In a statement on the occasion, Comrade Fisseha Desta, PMAC Assistant Secretary General and COPWE Executive Committee member, said that the 10th anniversary of the establishment of the PMAC is being marked on the eve of the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) and the celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Stressing the sacrifices paid by the Ethiopian revolutionaries and the beloved sons and daughters of the Motherland for the formation of WPE, Comrade Fisseha said that the fact that the 10th anniversary of the PMAC is being marked at this important time in the history of the Revolution makes the event even more historic and significant.

Comrade Fisseha further emphasised that revolutionaries have been struggling and would continue to struggle for the revolutionary objectives. He expressed confidence that the formation of the party for which immense efforts had been exerted up to now, would be realised.

In his statement, Comrade Fisseha reviewed at length the historical development that led to the establishment of the PMAC, the attempt of reactionaries to disrupt its mission, the sacrifices it had paid to advance the revolutionary process through the overthrow of the monarchy and the destruction of the feudal order, as well as the present stage of progress attained by the Revolution under the decisive and wise leadership of Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/2049

ACTIVE PARTICIPATION OF YOUTH IN REVOLUTIONARY PROCESS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Qualitative Development"]

[Text] The fact that the youth are an asset to a nation undergoing a revolutionary transformation is borne out by the significant contribution the Ethiopian youth have made in the consolidation of the popular revolution. The Revolutionary Ethiopia Youth Association (REYA), under the organisational, ideological and political guidance of COPWE, has facilitated the active participation of youth in the revolutionary process. The membership of the national association of youth is over three million.

REYA has mobilised the knowledge, initiative and creative efforts of the youth towards enhancing the further progress of the Revolution. It has set itself the task, among other things, of agitating them to step up their endeavours for socialist construction. Indeed, the role of youth in the nation's economic, social, political and cultural life is becoming more and more paramount.

The leadership of the Marxist-Leninist Party ensures the conscious and dynamic participation of young people in the process of socialist construction. It guides and co-ordinates activities of youth with a view to making them a vital force in building socialism. Mobilising the energy and creative potentials of the youth in the interest of socialist construction forms part of the ideological and political education of the younger generation to which the vanguard party gives continuous attention.

In this regard, the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia will enable REYA to undergo further qualitative change by way of helping it transform itself into becoming a solid mass organization through which the Party exercises ideological, organizational and political leadership over the youth movement.

The contribution of the youth in the process of party formation and in socio-economic reconstruction endeavours has no doubt been crucial. This same factor will remain an important element in the struggle to build a socialist society which process extends over a long period of time requiring tenacity and perseverance in struggle on the part of the working people as a whole.

The task of intensifying the ideological and political education of the youth under a Marxist-Leninist Party is an integral part of the struggle for building socialism. This presupposes the need to arm young people with the science of Marxism-Leninism and acquaint them with the revolutionary tradition of the international working class and communist movement. Getting versed in the Marxist-Leninist teaching on the laws of social development enables the youth, as indeed all working people, to carry out successful socialist construction endeavours.

Under the leadership of the party, young people receive the necessary ideological and political education that would enhance their dynamic revolutionary activity. A characteristic feature of the leadership a Marxist-Leninist Party provides to the youth movement is the effort it undertakes to educate young people in the spirit of proletarian internationalism. This is an important task, because the revolutionary transformation of society is successfully carried out on the basis of unity and solidarity among the revolutionary forces of our time.

The founding of the Workers Party of Ethiopia will not only enable the youth to further streamline their day-to-day activities but also step up their participation in the international movement of progressive youth. By maintaining close co-operation with progressive youth organizations and the international youth movement in general, the Ethiopian youth are making due contribution to consolidate world peace and promote understanding among peoples. And this will witness qualitative development under the leadership of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

CSO: 3400/2049

YOUTH CULTURAL GROUPS PROMOTE IDEOLOGY

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Jul 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Enhanced Capability of Youth"]

[Text] Literature and art as expression of social consciousness can serve, depending on the given socio-economic reality, either to promote or retard popular struggle. In the days of the feudo-bourgeois system, literature and art were no doubt used for the purpose of stifling genuine popular awakening and protect the interests of the oppressor class.

The Revolution has opened new opportunities for the development of popular literature and art which contribute to the struggle for better future for the working people. Post-revolution developments in our country have given a new lease of life to cultural activities in the interest of the people.

Accordingly, new and revolutionary trends in literature have emerged. In the course of the past years since the onset of the revolution, the class struggle has also been carried out on the ideological and cultural fronts. The struggle between the old culture and the new is naturally a long process. However, it is obvious that the new progressive culture will eventually triumph over the old retrogressive elements. This fact is being witnessed in our country where literature and art are becoming instrumental in promoting socialist culture.

In this endeavour as in others, the youth has come to the forefront of the struggle. Over the last few years, youth cultural groups have mushroomed in virtually all the kebeles. As a result, art and literature have come closer to the life of the working people. The efforts of the Revolutionary Government have greatly contributed in propagating a truly mass and revolutionary culture among the ranks of the working people.

It is to be appreciated that REYA had recently organised cultural festivals during which the commitment of the youth to step up the revolutionary struggle has once again been reflected. Such festivals were also instrumental in broadening the internationalist outlook of the youth and raise their cultural level that would in turn contribute to enhancing their resolve to fight for social progress and peace.

Similar festivals have been sponsored by regional youth organisations and national cultural centres. Theatrical groups have been mobilized to the remote parts of the country and have played a significant role in propaganda and agitational activities. In this endeavour, the youth have performed a commendable task.

The literary and arts festival recently organised by the Addis Ababa University REYA of Social Science basic Association in connection with the process of founding of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, the Tenth Anniversary celebrations of the Revolution and the end of the 1983-1984 academic year deserves due praise.

It is to be recalled that the Addis Ababa University, in pre-revolution days, had witnessed students' struggle against the defunct feudal regime. Even in those days, progressive theatrical performances were staged and papers with similar content were read in University forums. As is well known, through such literary and artistic activities, University students used the floors for propagating progressive ideas and agitating the people to struggle for their emancipation.

REYA, which has inherited the revolutionary traditions of the Ethiopian student and youth movement, undertook propaganda and agitational activities also in the University. The struggle of the University REYA towards helping produce revolutionary intellectuals has been encouraging.

Such forums will greatly help contribute to enabling University students acquire various literary and artistic knowledge from professionals. The youth will thereby be enabled to enhance their overall capability in the revolutionary process.

CSO: 3400/2049

GOVERNMENT FACES GROWING ERITREAN CHALLENGE

London AFRICA NOW in English Jul 84 pp 21-23

[Text] In the first five months of 1984, the EPLF have achieved some considerable and surprising victories. In January, operating in a region far outside of their normal range of activity, the EPLF surprised the garrison of 3,000 men at Tessenai in western Eritrea. They overran the town and several other military camps in the area, capturing a number of armoured vehicles and the fuel for them.

Two months later these Ethiopian tanks, laboriously transported up to the north-east of Eritrea, were used to devastating effect on the heavily defended Ethiopian lines running along the foothills overlooking the Red Sea coastal plain. It is an area where the Ethiopians had been dug in for several years, ever since they caught the EPLF by surprise by an amphibious landing in strength at Mersai Teklai and pushed inland to retake Karora on the Sudan border and the wells at Alghena in an unsuccessful attempt to get into the EPLF base camps from the north. The EPLF managed to hold the Ethiopian advance, but only just; and the war there settled into a battle of attrition along 60 km of trenches. Behind these, the Ethiopians built up a formidable array of ammunition dumps, artillery batteries, an airstrip at Maihimimet, 40 km from the sea, and the port at Mersai Teklai, with all the necessary barracks and storage centres for a force of over 10,000 men.

All this was swept away in four days of fighting in mid-March, in the biggest disaster suffered by the Ethiopian army in 23 years of the Eritrean war. Figures, as always, are prone to exaggeration but the EPLF certainly captured over 3,000 prisoners and it claims to have killed over 4,000 more. Two or three thousand men were evacuated or escaped, leaving behind much of the armour that a mechanised brigade and two tank battalions had deployed (though none were at full strength); after earlier losses the Ethiopians had about 60 tanks and armoured personnel

carriers deployed on the front; and many were captured in a usable condition as were many of the guns from the four artillery battalions and massive supplies of ammunition. Ethiopia's 23 division was decimated and its commander captured.

The EPLF's successes have not stopped there. They have now gone on the offensive on the Nacfa front, moving against the strategic hilltops to the east of the Af Abet-to-Nacfa road and to the south-west of Nacfa in the hills overlooking the Anseba valley. These were taken by the Ethiopians in months of bitter fighting last year and in 1982.

In April and May this year, the EPLF brought up some of their captured weaponry and managed to shoot down a MiG 23 with their newly-acquired anti-aircraft guns. They also employed tanks against the Ethiopian armour in the plains to the east of Nacfa. The Ethiopian troops, despite their very heavy losses in the north-east and, according to the EPLF, losses running into thousands around Nacfa, fought surprisingly well; by the end of May, however, they had not been able to prevent the EPLF from taking back a number of strategic points — though they had stopped any real Eritrean breakthrough.

Perhaps the most spectacular EPLF action was the attack on Asmara air base on May 20. EPLF commandos managed to get into the base and wreak considerable destruction, destroying seven MiGs, a transport plane and two helicopters. Their claim to have destroyed 16 MiG 21s and MiG 23s as well as 14 other helicopters and planes was an exaggeration (though 20 other planes were raked with machine-gun fire and damaged); but the reality, which included the burning of oil, repair and ammunition stores, was impressive enough and an audacious and telling blow to Ethiopian air strength in Eritrea.

The EPLF is also keeping up the pressure

in other areas of Eritrea. There have been attacks on military camps around Barentu in the west; and, more significantly, there has been fighting south of Asmara near Dekamere in January and February and around Senafe in mid-April — both are on the main road south into Ethiopia.

This is a part of Eritrea where the Ethiopian administration has made a lot of progress in the last couple of years in winning over the local population. Last year alone they distributed 50,000 guns to the peasant associations and local militia squads in parts of Southern Eritrea. The success of this policy, which included the organisation of over 350 peasant associations in Seraye province, as well as over 60 co-operatives and the provision of training for Eritrean militia units, seriously alarmed the EPLF. Their concern was shown earlier this year by specific attacks on the training camps to try and disrupt the militia programme.

The latest EPLF operations in this area have come none too soon to re-establish EPLF influence in a province where the government has distributed thousands of tons of grain under a food-for-work programme which has produced miles of terracing for agriculture and four new dams.

The EPLF is partly managing to take advantage of the low morale among Ethiopian troops who are tired of the war and of the distraction of the government faced by a drought which is seriously affecting over 5m people.

But it is also making a major effort, at this moment, just in order to pre-empt Saudi Arabian efforts at encouraging the much divided Eritrean movement into genuine unity. The Saudia Arabians have promised unlimited support to a united Eritrean front. The EPLF claims, wrongly, that no other Eritrean front operates inside Eritrea — it is, of course, now much the largest with over 20,000 fighters in the field. The other factions, however, are much better at obtaining outside funds and support from the Arab world (and they still have considerable backing among Eritreans in the refugee camps in Sudan).

One of the main supporters of Eritrea, Saudi Arabia, remains deeply suspicious of the EPLF's adherence to Marxism-Leninism and wants to build up the non-Marxist Eritrean groups as a counterweight. It has, however, recently channelled some funds to the EPLF, the first for several years, in an effort to encourage it into unity talks.

Similarly, Sudan, whose opening of the border to Eritrean movements has played a major part in the recent successes, is pushing for real unity talks. On the sidelines is the United States, watching the Eritrean situation with care. It is presumably the US which has been behind the recent arrival of arms from Somalia for the EPLF.

None of the pressures are likely to produce any immediate breakthrough in getting Eritrean unity. All the factions, publicly at least, support it; privately, however, there is considerable doubt and suspicion and much bitterness about previous failures and internecine warfare. The EPLF at least, with such impressive recent victories to its credit, may well feel that it can really go it alone — and win a war that it is now beginning to fight on a conventional level ●

Reactions to EPLF Claims

The most recent Eritrean military successes against Ethiopian Government forces were outlined by Ermias Debesai, a member of the Eritrean People's Liberation Front (EPLF) Central Committee at a conference held in London last month.

British Member of Parliament Stuart Holland, Opposition spokesperson for Overseas Development, recently returned from a visit to Eritrea, was evidently impressed by the veracity of Eritrean claims of a major victory won at Mersa Teklai. He had himself visited the battlefield and seen the Ethiopian prisoners taken. "You cannot win a battle of that kind unless you have an economic and military base which is quite extraordinary," he stated.

He was clearly also impressed by the EPLF's organisational abilities, such as the capacity to do repairs for its dilapidated lorry fleet and to distribute relief aid to the area under its control. He pledged that, were the Labour Party to return to power, "it would be incumbent on me to provide a major increase in relief" to Eritrea.

Several speakers paid tribute to the EPLF's practical self-reliance (the provision of education, literacy and women's groups, primary health care and relief; the building of roads; and the preparations being made to manufacture items such as basic drugs and sanitary towels). Others testified to its continuing political independence. The EPLF had resisted the blandishments and manipulations of both super-powers, claimed Kassahun Chekole, speaking on *The Geopolitics of the Horn of Africa*. "As such," he continued, "its contribution to the African revolution will be permanent."

Prominent among those who were more cautiously optimistic was Mary Dines of the Eritrea Relief Association who cited drought and famine as major threats to the future of Eritrea. She stressed that drought had paralysed the whole of Ethiopia and Eritrea for the last three years, with the lives of 1.6m people at risk, particularly in the critical area of northern Sahel. (Both international and voluntary relief agencies are, perhaps understandably, wary of

providing assistance to areas controlled by liberation movements. It appears that 30 times more relief aid is donated to the Ethiopian authorities than to the EPLF.)

Mary Dines also voiced fears that the UNHCR, under financial pressure from the US, which supplies most of its funding, was keen to ease the refugee problems in Africa by placing a new emphasis on repatriation programmes. She cited the *cause celebre* of the 7,000 Djibouti returnees in 1983 as an example of voluntary repatriation claiming that this was "encouraged" by coercion and reduction of refugee rations. Resettlement camps for returnees were, she claimed, already being prepared near Asosa and in areas of Wollega in southern Ethiopia — much like those in which Amhara farmers were being forcibly resettled by the Dergue to subdue dissident groups effectively in the Oromo areas. She stressed that, rather than encouraging repatriation, international agencies should look to provide assistance direct to the liberated areas of Eritrea and Tigré, thus greatly reducing the burden of supporting the refugee presence in eastern Sudan (300,000 persons, according to UNHCR figures, plus another 150,000 unregistered).

The conference, which on the day of the anti-Botha demonstration in London still managed to draw an audience of over 200, sometimes lapsed into sessions of "preaching to the converted." Neither was it entirely free from sectarian in-fighting: other Eritrean liberation groups, like PLF/ELF, were too frequently castigated for their lack of grassroots support and their acceptance of "manipulation by foreign powers." However, the conference did serve to highlight most effectively the recent successes of the EPLF, both militarily and in terms of developing the domestic infrastructure. In addition, it raised important issues, such as the UNHCR's new emphasis on repatriation and the need to provide assistance to stricken populations residing in areas which are not under the control of formally recognised governments. Such issues must surely be raised against ICARA II this month ●

CSO: 3400/2068

VANGUARD PARTY EXPANDING IDEOLOGICAL EDUCATION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Jun 84 p 2

[Editorial: "Attention to Ideological Work"]

[Text] The work of a vanguard party to educate the broad masses of the working people as well as the members of the party itself ideologically and politically is an indispensable condition for the successful realization of the programme of orientation towards socialism. Ideological work is a long struggle closely connected with the general process of revolutionary-democratic transformation. It is aimed at educating a new man and developing, within people, a new attitude to their civic duties, the property of the state, and to work.

The ideological and political work of the vanguard parties of the working people is based on the theory of Marxism-Leninism. This work is being carried out in Ethiopia on a nation-wide scale and in all fields. Ideological work helps enhance the class consciousness of the masses. Addressing the Second Congress of COPWE, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam stressed: "Ideological work generally, and propaganda and agitation specifically, is our task of vital importance, requiring unceasing attention."

All over the country, COPWE members explain and popularise the essence and goals of the progressive socio-economic measures taken by the Revolutionary Government. They also popularise the ideas of scientific socialism as well as the experience in the development of socialism gained by other countries. The Programme of the Ethiopian National Democratic Revolution and the fundamental principles of scientific socialism are being studied within the political education system at industrial enterprises, government institutions, co-operatives, and in army units. COPWE's Ideology Department issues the magazine Meskerem which discusses theoretical problems.

The economy is the main battlefield of struggle for the present and future of Ethiopia and other countries which have opted for the socialist path of development. Of increasing importance here is the role of the revolutionary vanguard party. Equipped with advanced theory, it will be able to cognize the conscious creative effort of the masses. The goal of developing a new society can and should be attained only through the continuous, consistent and patient effort of all working people. That is why emphasis is being laid on consolidating the achievements of the working people for the further progress of the revolution.

Creative work is the most important factor in expediting social progress. Besides, it helps develop the progressive views and the political activity of the working people. The development of socialism is the creative effort of the masses of the working people. Hence the appeal: "Everybody must work!" This is a sine qua non for the development of a new society.

The most important task of a revolutionary party is to win the trust and support of the masses. Ideological education is aimed at the emancipation of the popular masses from nationalistic and tribal prejudices and bourgeois views. The vanguard party must foster, within the working people, the understanding that they are the true masters of the country and must help them get rid of inertia and submissiveness to fate, which have been instilled in their minds due to the oppression under feudal rule of the past. A vanguard party resolutely fights against such negative traits as corruption, the abuse of power and the survivals of tribalism.

Party members should constantly study and make regular creative use of the Marxist-Leninist theory and counter resolutely the views of the bourgeoisie. The stimulation of the theoretical education of party members is an important task. Ideological and political education of members of primary party organizations is a continuous process demanding serious and conscious efforts.

A vanguard party devotes a great deal of attention to the work of the mass media which helps enhance the ideological consciousness and the political activity of the working people. The guiding principle of a vanguard party in its work lies in a precise understanding of the ultimate goal. That goal is well defined in Socialist Ethiopia. It is the building of a socialist society where there will be no exploitation of man by man and where genuine freedom, equality and democracy shall prevail.

CSO: 3400/2049

POLITICIZATION OF THE REVOLUTION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 29 Jun 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kifle Djote in the "People's Revolution—A New Chapter" column, entitled: "Politicisation and the Mass Struggle"]

[Text] Politicization and vigorous agitational programmes undertaken during the last ten years of the revolutionary process to arm the masses of the working people with socialist ideology is no doubt the major factor behind the continuing forward march and impressive success of the Ethiopian Revolution. The history of revolutions proves that for a revolutionary struggle to attain its goal, it is essential that the remnants of reactionary ideology must first be wiped out. It is difficult to attain the great goal of transforming society and building socialism unless all the evil consequences of retrogressive ideology is completely wiped out through a programme of active politicization aimed at raising the all-round consciousness of the broad masses.

The Revolutionary Government was convinced from the outset that it is essential to arm the working people with socialist ideology in order to wipe out the remnants of feudo-capitalist culture and carry out a revolutionary struggle relentlessly. Only when the masses are thus educated will they be inspired to defend their gains and persist in struggle to build socialism.

The first attempt made in agitating and awakening the peasantry was made when over 60-thousand students, teachers and men-in-uniform were deployed in the rural areas in the Development Through Cooperation Campaign in the beginning years of the revolution with a view to rallying the peasantry behind the revolution. The people have vivid memories about that successful understanding. In the process of the Campaign, the various nationalities were agitated to fight for their emancipation. While the role played by campaign participants in forging close contacts with the people was very effective and significant, the contribution of cadres has subsequently further advanced the work set in motion then.

Great struggle was also made by the cadres and graduates of the Yekatit 66 Political School and comrades trained in friendly socialist countries to disseminate the fundamental tenets of scientific socialism. Serious efforts

are also being made to disseminate information through the mass media of Revolutionary Ethiopia with the object of changing the attitude of the people. Efforts at forums abroad to explain our stand against imperialism and our solidarity with all peace-loving peoples the world over have also contributed in portraying the internationalist stand of the Ethiopian Revolution.

Following the establishment of the Commission for Organizing the Party of the Working People of Ethiopia (COPWE) serious attempts have been made to strengthen the mass media in the interest of effective ideological orientation, coordinate their activities and improve their methodology with a view to streamlining their contributions in enhancing the politicisation of the people.

Through the articles it publishes, the Organ of the Central Committee of COPWE, Serto Ader, plays a vital role in raising the level of consciousness of the masses. The COPWE CC theoretical journal, Meskerem, also contributes to ideological dissemination. The journal carries useful and analytical coverage of revolutionary developments, the struggle of the proletariat on a global level.

The availability of socialist literature, particularly for the discussion forums, has made immense contribution. This indeed made valuable contribution in raising the level of consciousness of the working people.

Scientific Outlook

It has often been stated that the fundamental objective of the popular revolution is not only to demolish the old order but also to build a new system characterised by genuine freedom and equality. Accordingly, the contributions and development of the arts should not be viewed in isolation. Serious efforts have been made to develop art and literature in line with the principles of socialism. The establishment of professional associations which enable artists to learn from each other's experiences and exchange views about timely and fruitful works is particularly noteworthy. Professionals engaged in the various branches of arts such as music, painting and drama have been making significant contributions to the consolidation of the Revolution. A lot more is expected from artists to put their creativity at the service of enhancing the cultural enrichment of the society and raise the level of consciousness of the working people by exerting still greater efforts. It is, of course, highly encouraging that numerous artistic forums have been organized from the kebele to the regional level throughout the country. Theatre and art exhibitions have also become a thriving aspect of artistic culture.

Since the upsurge of the Revolution, the expansion of education points to the laying of the foundation for cultural progress and inculcating the young generation with socialist ideology. Accordingly, efforts are being made to ensure that the contents of formal education are in line with the socialist ideology we are pursuing. The launching of the National Literacy Campaign, apart from providing the basic skills of reading and writing, also provides an appropriate forum for the exchange of views and experiences among the people.

Another important aspect in politicization is the serious effort made by way of combating individualism and selfish tendencies, which are major obstacles to nurturing socialist culture.

Ultimate Goal

Individualism and selfishness are obstacles to the consolidation of socialist ownership of the means of production. Cooperativization in the countryside is being vigorously pursued. The process in that direction cannot be successfully pushed forward without overcoming selfishness and individualism, the remnants of feudo-capitalist ideology. Hence, it goes without saying that the struggle against individualism and selfishness is crucial in efforts to safeguard the popular gains. It has therefore been essential for the working people to be educated in the spirit of people's control of public property.

Another important aspect in the task of politicization has been the effort made in teaching the working people in the spirit of socialist patriotism and proletarian internationalism, which the masses have come to appreciate.

The overall effects of all politicisation efforts in the past close to ten years of revolutionary struggle on the lines of nurturing the socialist ideology have been to raise the overall consciousness of the masses, particularly the working people.

The working people of Ethiopia are bracing themselves up to intensify the struggle for building a socialist society. They eagerly await the celebration of the founding of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, which fact is a vivid manifestation of the degree of consciousness and ideological maturity they had attained.

CSO: 3400/2049

FRIENDSHIP COMMITTEE ESTABLISHED WITH DPRK

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 pp 1, 6

[Text] The Ethio-Korean Friendship Committee was established yesterday to chart out ways to further strengthen the co-operation between Socialist Ethiopia and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK).

At a ceremony held at the Ethiopian Peace, Solidarity and Friendship Committee, Comrade Tekola Dejene, Minister of Agriculture, COPWE Central Committee member and Chairman of the Ethio-DPRK Friendship Committee, made a statement in which he noted that the co-operation between the two friendly countries gained momentum following the official friendly visit to DPRK of Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces.

Comrade Tekola stated that Socialist Ethiopia and DPRK had been carrying out similar struggles as part of their anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist struggle. He stressed that at present the two countries have common objectives in the political, economic, social and cultural fields.

Comrade Tekola further explained the victories in socialist construction which DPRK has scored particularly under the leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and reaffirmed that the friendship committee will exert the necessary endeavours in bringing closer the peoples of the two countries and in further strengthening their relations. He expressed confidence that the counterpart committee in DPRK would also work for the same objectives.

Comrade Habte-Mariam Seyoum, Deputy Head of COPWE's Foreign Affairs Department, said for his part that the establishment of the Friendship Committee would contribute significantly towards further strengthening the relations between the two countries.

He emphasised the fact that much was expected from the friendship committees of the two countries in bringing closer the peoples of the two countries by working together in the struggle against imperialism and reaction as well as against forces opposed to peace.

Comrade Huwang Sun Muk, Ambassador of DPRK to Socialist Ethiopia, also noted the important contributions which the Friendship Committees would make

particularly in the joint endeavour of the two countries to build socialism and further underscored in his statement that added significance is attached to the Committee as it came into being on the eve of Party formation in Ethiopia and the celebration of the 10th Anniversary of the Revolution.

Comrade Muk elaborated on the revolutionary gains of DPRK under the determined leadership of Comrade Kim Il Sung and expressed confidence that the relations between the peoples, parties and governments of the two countries would be further developed and deepened.

Meanwhile, it was revealed that a DPRK-Ethiopia Friendship Committee had been established in Pyongyang and that the Committee was making considerable preparations to celebrate colourfully the 10th Anniversary of the Ethiopian Revolution and the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia. (WPE) (ENA)

CSO: 3400/2049

FOUNDING CONFERENCES FOR WPE HELD

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] Founding conferences for the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) were held here yesterday in the political department of the Central Sector Command and the Special Security Brigade.

Following the adoption of the agenda and the programme, the participants approved the list of members of the propaganda, proposal review and documentation affairs commissions as well as of the presidium.

Reports were also submitted by heads of the political bodies on the characteristics of the international class struggle and the activities accomplished in the organizational and ideological fields to fulfil the mission of COPWE, namely the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia.

The participants held extensive discussion on the reports and observed a minute of silence in memory of comrades who laid down their lives at different war fronts for the gains of the Revolution.

Delegates for party commission and for higher body were also elected following which the commission's secretary was named.

During the conference of the Special Security Brigade held at the Tatek Auditorium of the PMAC office, Comrade Captain Sori Gebissa, head of the political unit, presented a report on the gains of the Revolution and the preparation of the army in the political and military know-how.

In his report, Comrade Sori said that a library with numerous books have been set up to promote the political consciousness of the army.

The report elaborates the activities of the members of the brigade in the sport field, its participation in work campaigns under the motto of "producing While Fighting." And its financial and material support to settle compatriots displaced from their homes due to the war caused by the invading troops of Somalia as well as its supports to the literacy campaign.

The participants expressed conviction that further gains of the Revolution would be attained in establishing the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, constructing socialism and building an invincible defence force through the leadership of Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam, which, the report added, is a decisive factor in the progress of the Revolution.

The participants resolved to pay every sacrifice for the formation of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, the proper handling of government and public property, and the prevention of maladministration and liberalism for increased activity.

Meanwhile, WPE founding conference of the political department of the First Army Division under the Central Command was held recently.

Following the election of the first secretary of WPE and delegates to higher bodies the participants noted the revolutionary leadership of Comrade Chairman Mengistu and pledged to struggle for the formation of the party and the colourful celebration of the 10th anniversary of the Revolution.

Founding conferences of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) at the provincial level are proceeding in various parts of the country.

The party founding conference of Nazareth town and Yerer-Kereyu province Thursday convened at the Nazareth town council while the Asmara WPE founding conference took place at the Tensaei Hall.

At the conference of the Nazareth town and Yerer-Kereyu province, the participants elected the organizational affairs committee the propaganda affairs committee, suggestion collection committee and members of a documentation commission.

Comrade Sheta Belachew, COPWE representative for Nazareth town and Yerer-Kereyu province, presented a central report on past accomplishments in the political, economic and social spheres.

Comrade Sheta noted in his report that the local people following the directives of the Revolutionary Government and COPWE have been and still are participating in the construction of socialist economy.

At the Asmara WPE founding conferences, after the adoption of the work programme and the agenda, a minute's silence was observed in memory of comrades who sacrificed their lives in defence of the Motherland and the Revolution.

Comrade Tekola Bekele, COPWE representative for Asmara, submitted a report on the situation of Eritrea, particularly Asmara, and the political, economic and social activities undertaken after the eruption of the Popular Revolution.

Messages of support from various mass organizations were read out to the participants.

Similar party founding conferences were conducted in Shire, Raya-Azebo provinces of Tigray region, and at the Arssi Revolutionary Police headquarters.

At each conference the participants listened to the reports presented by COPWE representatives and later approved the report as documents of the provincial conference.

Message of support sent from various mass organizations were read out to the participants.

The participants later expressed their readiness to pay every sacrifice for the formation of WPE, for the construction of dependable defence force and to colourfully celebrate the tenth anniversary of the Revolution.

Meanwhile in Gambella town, Illubabor region, the WPE founding conference participants observed a minute's silence in memory of comrades who fell in the defence of the unity and territorial integrity of the Motherland and the Revolution.

Comrade Tsegie Gebisa, COPWE representative for Gambela province, presented a report on past accomplishments in the economic, political and social areas.

The report said 10,000 hectares of agricultural land is being developed and that facilities for the project management personnel are being constructed in Gambella town at a cost of over 17 million birr. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/2049

ASSESSMENT OF COPWE'S INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Kifle Djote in the "People's Revolution--A New Chapter" column entitled "COPWE's Relations with Communist, Workers' Parties"]

[Text] The question of how to respond adequately to imperialist conspiracy and military coordination directed against the Ethiopian Revolution and other popular movements has, during the past few years, been of serious concern to progressives of this country. As the multiplicity of the conspiracies and particularly the rapid aggressive growth of the military coordination aggravates the danger directed against the Ethiopian Revolution, the level of our preparedness to resist our enemies needs to be steadily raised in all aspects. Since the danger has a clear international aspect, it is imperative that we should redouble our efforts to intensify our link with our allies and other peace-loving forces as well as expand our cooperation among nations on the basis of peaceful coexistence. To achieve this, it will be appropriate to assess the international relations of COPWE, the Government and mass organizations, particularly after the establishment of COPWE.

A number of steps have been taken to strengthen the relations of COPWE with communist and workers parties which have many years of experience, while its general internal structure essential for the establishment of the Workers Party of Ethiopia was being completed stage by stage.

The experience which COPWE acquired from abroad not only helped to intensify the internal struggle but also contributed constructively to the establishment of the party. On the other hand, the contribution of the fruitful process of the Ethiopian Revolution to the struggle of the world communist and workers' parties cannot be under-estimated. COPWE maintains relations of cooperation and understanding with the communist parties of the socialist countries. In particular, the strong relations that have been forged with the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the Yemeni Socialist Party, the Communist Party of Cuba, the Socialist Unity Party of Germany as well as with the parties of Bulgaria, Czechoslovakia, Hungary, Poland, Vietnam, People's Democratic Republic of Korea and others have not only reinforced our unity of purpose but have also enabled us to acquire a deeper experience in struggle. These relations have also opened for us a wide and fruitful area of cooperation.

In addition, the relations established with progressive and revolutionary parties particularly in the developing countries of Africa and other continents are not only being consolidated but their benefits are also being felt. They should be further strengthened. In this respect, Socialist Ethiopia attaches special importance to relations with progressive parties of Africa and this calls for still stronger cooperation.

The relations initiated with the communist parties in the capitalist countries have created favourable conditions for exchanges of views and cooperation and the results achieved in widely introducing our Revolution through them are encouraging. In addition, with the influence of these parties in their respective countries growing, Revolutionary Ethiopia's closer link with them has facilitated its relations with their respective governments on the basis of peaceful coexistence.

At the government level, our international relations carried out in accordance with the Programme of the National Democratic Revolution and the objectives of COPWE have borne satisfactory results. Inspired by proletarian internationalism and the fundamental principles of peaceful coexistence, the Charters of the United Nations and the Organization of African Unity, and the principles of the Non-aligned Movement, Revolutionary Ethiopia has shown and is showing in deeds its firm commitment to defend vigorously such principles as non-alignment, non-intervention and respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity and so on.

With regard to its foreign relations, Socialist Ethiopia attaches great importance to her relations with her allies--the socialist countries. In this respect, all-round economic, social and political relations are being strengthened. The further strengthening of cooperation and understanding with these countries in the economic and social sectors will contribute greatly to our socio-economic development. The level, size, and benefit of the cooperation will undoubtedly grow with the accumulation of experience, the intensify of the effort and the effectiveness of its implementation. Revolutionary Ethiopia as well attaches special attention to the task of strengthening its relations with developing countries, especially with neighbouring and other African countries. With regard to Africa, as recent events have shown, the conspiracies plotted by imperialism and its collaborators to wreck the OAU and create disarray among its members have often put the very existence of the organization at stake. Speaking of Socialist Ethiopia's foreign relations, attention must be drawn to the role played by mass organization in this respect. Under the direction of COPWE, the role of mass organizations in foreign relations is steadily growing and achieving successful results.

The close relationship established by the workers, peasants, youth, women, professional associations, the Committee for Peace and Solidarity as well as by the friendship committees of Revolutionary Ethiopia with their counterparts at the international level have helped them to exchange valuable experiences in the field of struggle. Moreover, these contacts promote the anti-imperialist struggle for peace, social progress and equality on the one hand, and, on the other, contribute towards the establishment of durable relations of cooperation among peoples.

As the participation of mass organizations and professional associations grows beyond our national borders, so does their influence at the international level. They should therefore unceasingly strive to achieve still greater results in this respect. Since the international contacts of mass organizations and professional associations effectively reflect the internationalist commitment of our Revolution and contribute to the development of fruitful cooperation, COPWE today and the party tomorrow will spare no effort in expanding and reinforcing the scope of these contacts.

The common objectives of the international contacts carried out by COPWE as well as state and mass organizations is the consolidation of our Great Revolution. The working people of the country are called upon to redouble their efforts, particularly at this crucial period when the establishment of party formation is fast approaching, in the international arena and deepen relations with allies abroad.

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'SERTO ADER' STRESSES MAXIMUM EFFORT TO BOOST PRODUCTION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 6 Jul 84 pp 1, 5

[Text] The organ of the Central Committee of COPWE, Serto Ader, said in its latest issue that the system being constructed in the country is one where the basic rights of citizens are respected, where the principle of 'From each according to his ability and to each according to his work' is applied and where justice prevails.

Serto Ader stated in its yesterday's editorial that maximum effort should be exerted in order to increase productivity and enhance the agricultural sector which is the mainstay of the country's economy. It said small industries should also be expanded as a base for heavy industries which is decisive for the construction of a socialist economy.

Stressing the effort mounted towards the construction process, Serto Ader said that new heavy production projects should be undertaken and the proper distribution should be ensured.

Noting the achievements registered during the past revolutionary struggle, Serto Ader stated that workers have sacrificed their leisure time to increase productivity and to undertake community services. Genuine comrades, said the COPWE Central Committee organ, have also strived for the proper handling of government and public pr-perty, struggled for justice and the defence of the gains of the Revolution and generally worked for the overall good of the country.

Serto Ader at the same time stressed that some individualists remain indifferent to the country's problems, concentrating instead on advancing their own selfish interests. Such practice only hinders the country's efforts to extricate itself from the quagmire of backwardness. (ENA)

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POLITICAL SCHOOLS EFFECTIVE AS PARTY INSTRUMENT

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 4 Jul 84 pp 1, 2

[Article by Mulugetta Gudeta in "People's Revolution--A New Chapter" column entitled: "Spreading the Ideas of Marxism-Leninism"]

[Text] "Without the revolutionary theory there is no revolutionary movement" written in red letters, the slogan is boldly displayed on the building housing the offices of the Yekatit '66 Political School. A modest centre for the training of cadres some eight years back, it has now grown into the real nucleus of the future Party School which will eventually emerge with the founding of the Workers' Party, a process which has now entered its final phase of realization.

It was, indeed, a modest start. Few teachers and some students. In January 1976, fifteen members started their work in the legally established Provisional Office for Mass Organisational Affairs (POMOA). The establishment of this office and the Yekatit '66 Political School were publicly made known through a proclamation in April 1976. Hence, its birth coincides with the simultaneous issuance in 1976 of the National Democratic Revolution Programme which marked a decisive turning point and a clear-cut orientation as to the nature and tasks of the popular revolution which erupted without the least organisational and ideological preparation on the part of Ethiopian progressives.

Therefore, the task of disseminating the basic tenets of scientific socialism among the broad masses of the people was a responsibility that suddenly fell on the shoulders of progressive intellectuals. The material and human constraint was another dimension of the difficulty.

In spite of that, the establishment of these two institutions represented a real opportunity and a forum for progressive forces to instill consciousness in the then creeping spontaneous upsurge and in the long run contribute to bring about revolutionary leadership.

Recognized as the weakest spot in the subjective conditions of the Ethiopian Revolution, the non-existence even of a loose and amorphous democratic platform, let alone a closely-knit organisation of revolutionaries, obviously made the revolutionary process a protracted and arduous one. Apart from

hastily scribbled leaflets circulating within student circles, there was no clandestine press which could reach the people and serve in Lenin's words as a "collective organiser and a collective agitator."

It was under such difficult circumstances that the political education and the training of cadres started in the country. There was, however, a decisive factor for optimism at the outset. Revolutionaries and the masses at large had an unflinching conviction in the dissemination of Marxism-Leninism, a world outlook which has proven its might in revolutionizing the life of more than a third of humanity. This was indeed a great moral force.

The class struggle was fiercely fought in the ideological front in particular, until the final defeat of the various erroneous views which surfaced in the early days of the revolution. The Political School automatically became the target of counter-revolutionary furor. The school was set on fire, part of the building damaged and numerous books and documents burnt. This barbaric act could not, however, deter progressive ideas from taking root in peoples minds. It rather backfired, since no force could stand on the way of popular enlightenment.

In the days of the defunct system, the mere possession of Marxist literature was considered a subversive act punishable under the Criminal Code. The large-scale diffusion of socialist literature in the wake of the historic orientation of the country towards socialism received effective promotion and support from the government. The whole country virtually absorbed itself in studying the works of Marx, Engels and Lenin. Low priced editions were sold in millions of copies. Soon translations in Amharic appeared. For the first time illiterate peasants could hear about socialism. Such concepts as the class struggle, freedom and others could finally filter through old myths and beliefs.

Thus, the ideal situation was created for the Political School to conduct its activities in line with the needs and aspirations of popular awareness. Cadres from workers, peasants and intellectuals and men-in-uniform were recruited in large numbers and received political training in crash courses. The mechanism of large-scale ideological dissemination was thus set into motion and was made operational through the training of cadres from different walks of life, who later on greatly helped in solving problems related with politics, ideology, economy and administration.

Students trained at the Yekatit '66 Political School have been instrumental in establishing mass and professional organisations and in the struggle for economic growth and administrative efficiency. It is to be remembered that the Yekatit '66 Political School was established in May, 1976. In its eight years of existence the school has been effective in providing clear political orientation to mass organisations, discussion forums and to the Revolutionary Armed Forces. It has distributed Marxist-Leninist literature both in foreign and Amharic languages, a task recently carried over by the Kuraz Publishing Agency.

Moreover, the activities of the school have to be appreciated in relation with the struggle to create the vanguard party. The need for a political party which would provide a unified and centralized leadership to the revolutionary process was already raised in the NDR programme which explicitly stated that the ultimate aim of the transitional programme was the establishment of the working class party.

The Yekatit '66 Political School has subsequently conducted its activities to serve the historic mission of creating the vanguard party. In one of its early publications, for instance it was stated that "When the working class party will be formed, it needs qualified cadres that will carry out its policies and programmes. This means that the Political School is a nucleus of the future party school."

Hardly known outside the circle of few students, men-in-uniform and others before the revolution were the ideas of scientific socialism which have now made remarkable advances in the country. The task of ideological dissemination and the training of revolutionary cadres is a long and arduous one. The search for new solutions to problems that arise in the course of socialist construction make it incumbent upon revolutionaries strive every time to deepen their theoretical level. The theoretical understanding of political workers has to be every time upgraded so that they can creatively apply their knowledge in the future struggle to make the process of socialist orientation an irreversible one.

In his report to the 2nd COPWE Congress, Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam made it clear that studies were underway to establish a national institute for research in Marxist theory related with problems of socialist construction in our country. High-level cadres and theoreticians will also be trained in such an institution. The organisation of party schools in various regions, the diffusion of party literature in the various languages of the nationalities and the training of cadres who are both "red and expert" for the needs of economic reconstruction: these and others are some of the future responsibilities of the party school under the ideological department of the Workers Party.

As far back as in 1911, while in exile in Paris, Lenin organised a Political School where party functionaries were trained in the theory and practice of revolutionary struggle. Whenever the opportunity offered, he himself engaged in teaching activities. He repeatedly instructed his comrades to learn. "To learn" this appeal of Lenin's is becoming a familiar catchword in our country which is sharing his vision of a better life for the working people.

It is to this ideal too that the Yekatit '66 Political School has devoted its activities in the past. The school rightly earns its name from Yekatit, the historic month in our calendar, when the masses started to put their destinies into their own hands. The school will surely live up to the immortal spirit of Yekatit.

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HIGH-LEVEL PLAN IMPLEMENTATION SESSION

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 pp 1, 3

[Text] The high-level plan implementation session which assesses the development activities undertaken during the past six years based on reports with particular emphasis on the current year continued here yesterday at the National Revolutionary Development Campaign and Central Planning Supreme Council (NRDC-CPSC).

The plan implementation session, which is chaired by Comrade Mengistu Haile-Mariam, Chairman of the PMAC and of COPWE and Commander-in-Chief of the Revolutionary Armed Forces, yesterday made an in-depth review of reports of plan implementation by covering the sectors of industry, trade and tourism and construction.

The session, held at the assembly hall of the NRDC-CPSC and attended by heads of plan implementing organization continued its discussion by focusing its attention on the industrial sector of the economy. In this connection, it was noted that remarkable achievements had been scored in increasing production and finalizing new projects particularly during the past eleven months.

The plan implementation session sought ways of solving problems encountered in the industrial sector.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu emphasised the need to give due attention to qualitative and quantitative industrial production as well as to its proper distribution in line with the construction needs of the country. He gave directives on the discipline and proper up-keep of means of production.

Appropriate discussion was held on plan accomplishments and problems faced in mining and energy resources. A report regarding the plan implementation of trade and tourism economic sector was submitted by Comrade Sereke-Berhan Tesheberu, Head of the trade and tourism group of the plan supervision and control department with the NRDC-CPSC.

Problems encountered during the campaign period in domestic trade, hotels and tourism as well as the foreign trade economic sector were enumerated.

The meeting noted in particular the problems in the domestic trade with reference to grain purchasing and distribution together with the accomplishments in the field of management and finance.

Solutions were suggested to the problems faced in distributing agricultural produce among the members of the community.

The session also took note of the fruitful results scored and the future work plan of hotels and tourism and further reviewed the activities in foreign trade and the control of contraband and illicit trade dealings.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu Haile-Mariam stressed the plan implementation in different economic sectors and declared that the economic sectors as a whole have a great contribution to make towards the construction of the country's economy and meeting the needs of the broad masses. The campaign executing offices should strengthen their plan and co-ordinate their efforts to hit the desired target, Comrade Chairman Mengistu said.

Noting that natural wealth is decisive for the construction of the country's economy, Comrade Chairman Mengistu gave directives on the measures to be taken in this area.

A report was also submitted by Comrade Seifu Manyahlehal, Head of the construction group of the planning, supervision and control department within the NRDC-CPSC, regarding the construction economic sector.

The report includes the activities undertaken in highways, houses, bridges and other construction programmes.

Suggestions were presented to the session on ways of solving problems related to shortage of capital budget and materials.

While he was giving directive on this aspect, Comrade Chairman Mengistu urged that maximum effort should be exerted to overcome particularly the shortage of houses and stressed the historic duty of achieving the economic construction of the country.

The review session will also continue today.

In Thursday's session, in addition to the report given by Comrade Yimam Ahmed, Acting Head of the Plan supervision and Control Department of the NRDC-CPSC, and Comrade Berhane Manna, Head of the State Farm Team within the NRDC-CPSC, Comrade Astatke Bayu, Head of the Agricultural Team within the Council, stressed in his report that particular attention was paid to boosting agricultural production, organising peasant service and producers' co-operatives, natural resource conservation and development and settlement.

Achievements made and problems encountered in each of these areas were discussed.

Comrade Kifle Yirga, leader of the industrial team within the Council, also submitted a report on work performance in this sector. He said the emphasis was on how to generate means of obtaining foreign exchange, produce food products in bulk and in quality and meet commodity needs within the country.

Comrade Chairman Mengistu later gave policy directives on each of the reports, stressing that national construction programmes will be successfully implemented only when plan execution departments strengthen their work procedures.

During the current session, attention will be given to reports submitted on project execution in the trade, tourism, socio-economic services construction and financial sectors of the economy. (ENA)

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COPWE PRESENTS CERTIFICATES, PRIZES TO GRADUATES

Yekatit '66 Political School

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 p 5

[Text] A total of 441 comrades graduated here yesterday upon completion of a three-month political education course at the Yekatit '66 Political School.

The 18th batch of graduates include comrades drawn from government departments and mass organizations, production cadres, high ranking-government officials as well as members of the Revolutionary Army and officers.

Prizes to meritorious graduates and active participants were handed over by Comrade Shewandagne Belete, COPWE Central Committee member and first deputy head of COPWE's organizational department.

Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Shewandagne said that the gains scored during the past ten years of revolutionary struggle and the construction efforts made are means of ensuring the eradication of exploitation of man by man, guaranteeing the prosperity of the people and strengthening the building of the new social system.

The achievements of the revolution, said Comrade Shewandagne, play an exemplary role in the region and enable the country to contribute its share towards world peace.

Comrade Shewandagne further pointed out the sinister machinations of internal and external enemies to undermine the gains of the Revolution and added that the efforts of American imperialism to hold back the progress of communism is a cause of concern.

After noting the need of cadres in the construction of socialism, Comrade Shewandagne said that cadres carry the responsibilities of understanding and translating into practice party programmes, and policies as well as organizing and co-ordinating the broad masses.

Comrade Shewandagne further pointed out that since the upsurge of the Revolution encouraging efforts were made to produce capable cadres.

He added that the part played by cadres to disseminate the teachings of Marxism-Leninism is bearing fruit.

Comrade Shewandagne stressed that the political school has played a pivotal role in disseminating Marxist-Leninist ideology and in producing many revolutionaries. The efforts being exerted by the school towards this end is encouraging and praiseworthy, he said.

The role of the school will be enhanced only when individuals who have graduates from it share their knowledge with others, said Comrade Shewandagne, adding that comrades who participated in the courses it held have been on the vanguard changing their surroundings.

Comrade Shewandagne expressed hope that the 18th batch of graduates are expected to fully discharge their duties as before as leaders in various production and service organizations, and as commanders and organizers.

Comrade Roberto Jigano, Director of the Yekatit '66 Political School and COPWE Central Committee member, on his part said that the graduates had satisfactorily completed their education and added that the school would further continue its strivings towards the training of cadres.

The graduates have followed courses on ideological fields such as philosophy, political economy, the international communists and workers' movement as well as on Ethiopian history since their entry in the school beginning March 6 up to June 19, 1984, Comrade Roberto said.

Comrade Roberto also noted that the graduates had scored encouraging results in class activity, literary participation, written examination and group discussions.

Present at the graduation ceremony were invited guests and teachers of the school. (ENA)

Tatek Political School

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 1 Jul 84 p 6

[Text] The tenth batch of cadres graduated here yesterday upon completion of a three-month ideological course at the political school at the Tatek Training Centre.

Of the graduates those who excelled in discipline and sport competitions were awarded trophies and prizes.

At the ceremony held at the Red Star Square of the training centre, prizes were handed over to the graduates by Comrade Colonel Feleke Eshete, second deputy head of the political department of the revolutionary army, and COPWE Central Committee member.

Speaking at the ceremony, Comrade Col Feleke said that the struggle waged by the Revolutionary Army to spread the teachings of Marxism-Leninism was historic. He further noted that the triumph of the Marxist-Leninist party can be attained only when the cadres of the party exert unreserved efforts to implement the aims, strategies and policies of the party.

Speaking earlier, Comrade Lt Girmachew Ilala, head of the centre's political department and director of the school, said that the political school trained numerous political workers in the past and deployed them in various war fronts. (ENA)

Asmara Teachers' Training Institute

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 6 Jul 84 p 6

[Excerpt] Asmara (ENA)--Five-hundred and thirty-nine newly trained teachers graduated here Wednesday upon completion of a one-year course at the Asmara Teachers' Training Institute.

The graduates received their certificates from Comrade Tekola Bekele, representative of the Asmara COPWE, at a ceremony held at the Assembly Hall of the Institute.

Comrade Tekola said on the occasion that Socialist Ethiopia will be relieved of its present technological backwardness only when it is able to produce competent teachers and who would disseminate education to the broad masses with dedication.

He urged the graduates to strive to inculcate in the minds of their students the principles of scientific socialism so that they will contribute to the building of a firm foundation for a socialist system in Ethiopia.

Speaking earlier, Comrade Yemane Haile-Mariam, Head of the Asmara Teachers Training Institute, said that the Institute had graduated 4,000 teachers since it was re-established along new lines recently.

Other Teachers' Training Institutes

Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 p 3

[Text] Over 1,100 elementary school teachers graduated Thursday from teacher training institutes in Awassa and Nekempte.

In Awassa, Sidamo region, 597 teachers were awarded certificates after completing a year-long training course.

Certificates and prizes were presented to the graduating batch by Comrade Girma Habte-Gabriel, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Sidamo region. Comrade Girma said that the newly trained teachers, apart from discharging their normal day-to-day duty, shoulder the responsibility of

helping the masses to be better organized and more politicized in accordance with the policies and directives of the soon to be formed Workers Party of Ethiopia.

The dean of the institute, Comrade Belay Adisu, said earlier that 6,738 teachers, elementary school directors and supervisors have been graduated from the institute since its establishment six years ago.

Similarly in Nekempte, Wollega region, 584 elementary school teachers graduated from the Nekempte Teachers' Training Institute.

Certificates and prizes to the graduates were presented by Comrade Nigussie Fanta, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Wollega region and by heads of the regional COPWE Ideological and Discipline and control affairs.

Comrade Nigussie urged the graduates to encourage their students to participate in development activities in their respective localities.

Comrade Teferi Terrise, director of the institute, reported earlier that 4,459 teachers have been trained at the institute since its establishment five years ago.

Meanwhile, a total of 546 newly trained elementary school teachers drawn from Shoa and Wollo regions as well as from Asseb provincial administration graduated Thursday from the Dessie Teachers' Training Institute.

Certificates and special prizes were presented to the graduates, who completed a year-long training at the institute, by Comrade Shimelis Alemu, Chief Administrator of the region and COPWE Central Committee member.

After handing over the certificates, Comrade Shimelis said that much was expected from the graduates to promote the objectives of the Revolution and to disseminate the Marxist-Leninist ideology.

Comrade Dinkale Gorfu, Director of the Institute, and Comrade Zeleke Wolde-Meskel, General Manager of the educational office of Wollo region, revealed that 2099 teachers were trained by the institute since its establishment in 1972 E.C.

Meanwhile, 542 newly trained teachers graduated Thursday from the Robe Teachers' Training Institute of Bale region.

The graduates received certificates and special prizes from Comrade Gezahegne Werke, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Bale region.

Comrade Gezahegne said on the occasion that education is a decisive factor in the progress of a country and that socialist education in particular shapes a new generation by following the laws of social development.

Comrade Mekonnen Kebede, Director of the Institute, said earlier that the newly trained teachers would shoulder heavy responsibilities since they graduated on the eve of the formation of the WPE and the 10th anniversary celebration of the Popular Revolution.

Present at the graduation ceremony were Comrade Godana Tuni, chief administrator of the region, regional and provincial COPWE committee members and relatives of the graduates. (ENA)

CSO: 3400/2049

BRIEFS

COTTAGE INDUSTRY EXPANSION PLANNED--Ambo (ENA)--Representatives of four provincial handicrafts cooperative associations in Shoa region have pledged to make every effort to expand cottage industry in rural areas. The representatives made the pledge at the end of a week-long seminar in which 328 participants drawn from 59 cooperatives took part delegated by cooperatives in Jibat-Mecha, Menagesha, Selale and Merhabete provinces. In a platform adopted at the end of the seminar, the participants resolved to continue their struggle for the growth and development of their cooperatives and to suppress personal interests in order to promote the well-being of the broad masses. Comrade Bekalu Tefera, Head of the Cooperatives Affairs of COPWE in Jibat-Mecha province, told the representatives that a lot is expected of them in boosting production in their respective cooperatives. Meanwhile, representatives of mass organizations and government agencies in Jibat-Mecha province and chairmen of discussion forums expressed their determination to exert maximum effort towards the colourful celebration of the tenth anniversary of the revolution and the founding of the Workers Party of Ethiopia (WPE) at the end of a meeting they held at the Ambo Comprehensive Secondary School recently. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 7 Jul 84 p 4]

POLYTECHNIC INSTITUTE GRADUATES--Bahr Dar (ENA)--Some 243 youths of the Bahr Dar Polytechnic Institute in Gojjam region graduated here yesterday upon completion of a two-year course in technical vocations. Of the total of the 11th batch of the graduates, 43 have been trained in agro-mechanics, 38 in industrial chemistry, 43 in textiles, 50 in electricity, 19 in wood technology and 50 in metal technology. Prizes and certificates were handed over to the trainees by Comrade Zeleke Beyene, COPWE Central Committee member and COPWE representative for Gojjam region. Comrade Zeleke noted in a statement at the ceremony the encouraging endeavour of the Bahr Dar Polytechnic Institute in producing trained manpower to accelerate the country's technological development. He stressed the trainees' responsibility towards the economic construction of the country. Comrade Shebabaw Belay, Director of the institute, earlier elaborated on the cooperation made by the Soviet Union to strengthen the institute as well as on the progress made in science and technological fields. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 1 Jul 84 p 1]

450 TEACHERS GRADUATE--Nazareth (ENA)--A total of 450 teacher recruits trained at the Nazareth Teachers Training Institute in Yerer-Kereyu province graduated Friday with certificates. Certificates to the second batch of graduates and prizes to excelling students were handed over by Comrade Lemma Ariti, head of the teachers education department of the Ministry of Education. Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Lemma stressed the responsibility awaiting the teachers in producing creative and analytic citizens who could actively participate in the economic, social and political activities of the society. He added that the teachers should be proficient in their general knowledge, profession and ideological grasp and reminded them that the profession requires constant reading, analysis and a general upgrading of one's knowledge. Speaking earlier, Comrade Bulte Hailu, director of the Nazareth Teachers Training Institute, said that even though the institute is only two years old it is discharging its responsibilities equally with its counterparts and he said that of the present graduates 150 came from the Bahr Dar teacher training institute during the second semester. Teaching aid materials made by the graduates were displayed and visited by guests attending the ceremony. [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 8 Jul 84 p 5]

AGREEMENT WITH KIEV UNIVERSITY--An agreement providing for cooperation in science, technology and political, economic and legal education was signed here yesterday between the Addis Ababa and Kiev universities. According to the two-year agreement, Kiev University is to send lecturers to the Addis Ababa University and teachers from the Addis Ababa University would go to Kiev for further study and research. The agreement also provides for the granting of scholarship opportunities to young teachers at the Kiev University and exploring ways and means of cooperating in organizing seminars, meetings and workshops at national and international levels. The agreement was signed by Comrade Dr Duri Mohammed, President of the Addis Ababa University, and Comrade Mikhailo Ulianovich Biley, President of the Kiev University. Speaking on the occasion, Comrade Dr Duri said that the agreement was the first of its kind and expressed belief that such accord would strengthen relations and cooperation between the higher institutions of learning of the Soviet Union and Socialist Ethiopia. Comrade Dr Duri pointed out that the seminars, conferences and workshops to be organized by the two universities would greatly help to enhance collaboration between the two universities and to implement agreements reached in various educational areas. Comrade Biley on his part said that the agreement would be translated into deeds and added that the discussions he held with the Faculty staff of the Addis Ababa University further strengthens cooperation between the two universities. (ENA) [Text] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 6 Jul 84 p 3]

NEW PILOTS AND TECHNICIANS--Ethiopian Airlines (EAL) yesterday graduated nine pilots and 42 aircraft technicians. Five of the pilots are Ethiopian while the rest are of Djibouti, Democratic Yemen and Egyptian nationality. Twenty-nine of the newly graduated technicians are Ethiopian, three from Democratic Yemen, five from Greece and three from the Sudan. [Excerpt] [Addis Ababa THE ETHIOPIAN HERALD in English 6 Jul 84 p 3]

CSO: 3400/2049

DICOL DIRECTOR SAYS COUNTRY HAS ENOUGH FUEL FOR FIVE YEARS

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 16 Jun 84 p 3

/Text/ "The country will benefit from regular and uninterrupted fuel supplies for a period of 5 years," said comrade Carlos Gomes Junior, director-general of DICOL (National Fuel and Lubricant Distribution Enterprise) in speaking to the nation's mass media whose representatives recently visited the facilities of that enterprise in order to get a first-hand look at the situation having to do with regular fuel supply shipments throughout the land.

According to Carlos Gomes, this matter is included in the country's 1983-1986 Four-Year Economic and Social Development Plan and this was also made possible thanks to the help given by friendly countries. The official thus gave assurances that there are no reasons for alarm.

The DICOL director-general told us that, according to the Four-Year Plan, the administration took certain measures just in time so as to enable the country to have regular supplies in order to avoid the situation which materialized recently (characterized by the complete exhaustion of stocks). On this issue likewise, comrade Carlos Junior explained the situation as follows: "There are flaws in the fuel programs that were drawn up with the supplying companies and also because the port used by DICOL cannot accommodate ships with a capacity of more than 6,000 tons. Everybody likewise knows that we essentially depend on foreign exchange."

Talking about the fuel problems which came up during the harvest season, that situation was covered during the Second Agricultural Fair at Canchungo and our source stated that he was briefed on these points and alerted the administration to that situation. According to him, fuel is important for the proper development of the harvest season but it is no less true that this product cannot be taken as one of the priority factors in the farming season. He felt that this alert was a very good thing but, in turn, he argued that, if there is to be a regular flow of fuel supplies, then there has to be first of all a guarantee in the form of foreign exchange so that we can buy what we need abroad.

For this year, he continued, there is a gas-oil reserve estimated at more than 2,000 tons, an amount more than enough for the country's needs.

Talking about the private operators, Carlos Gomes explained that his enterprise does not expect this issue to turn up in its work program. However, in the supply policy charted by the administration, DICOL has supply cards available which were distributed to its customers. In addition to the requisitions made by the ministries, the organization also takes care of embassies and projects under way throughout the country which make their purchases against foreign exchange.

As for the countries that supply fuel to Guinea-Bissau, our source said that there are several such countries; this is why, in cases of emergency, we are forced to go to the closest ports and refineries. For example, the last two vessels to visit the country loaded with fuel came from the Canary Islands (Tananarive). It is expected however that a load of lubricants will shortly come in from Dakar and Portugal.

In concluding our interview, the agency's director-general informed us that a new port is under construction for DICOL with a capacity to handle vessels larger than 10,000 tons. This project is scheduled to be completed next year.

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CSO: 3442/426

VASCO CABRAL DISCUSSES IMPORTANT ROLE OF PAIGC

Bissau NO PINTCHA in Portuguese 16 June 84 p 5

/Text/ "The PAIGC /African Independence Party of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde/ continues to be the decisive political force in Guinea-Bissau," said the Permanent Secretary of the Party Central Committee during an interview given to representatives of the foreign press in the country, specifically, the Portuguese news agency ANOP and the Soviet news agency TASS /Telegraph Agency of the Soviet Union/. Vasco Cabral, who analyzed the importance of the PAIGC during the current stage of development of Guinean society, said that, ever since its creation in 1956, that organization has gone through various phases but "always asserted itself as the decisive moving force of our epoch in order to transform the situation of the people of Guinea-Bissau."

"With the PAIGC," Vasco Cabral recalled, "and under the enlightened leadership of comrade Amilcar Cabral, the Guinean people conducted a glorious armed struggle which made it possible to defeat Portuguese colonialism and to win independence." The BP /Political Bureau/ member also talked about the record of the PAIGC since independence up to the post 14 November period.

According to him, that was a historical period and "it was marked by certain advances and setbacks which can be expressed in a phase characterized by the party's great prestige and influence over the masses" and another phase characterized by a certain "loss of prestige and weakness in the party's action as a consequence of the mistakes made by the regime of Luiz Cabral, particularly in the economic sphere."

Ever since it took power in 1974, the PAIGC, in the words of Vasco Cabral, discharged its function as society's leading political force up to the Third Congress in 1977 which quite correctly is considered as a moment of definition and even clarification of the party's strategy for national reconstruction.

However, "the failure to carry out the decisions of the Third Congress meant that the party became weak and was gradually losing its function as society's leading political force."

Correcting Mistakes and Deficiencies

According to the permanent secretary of the Central Committee, it was as a consequence of these events that the 14 November Readjustment Movement sprang up; its objective was "to correct some errors and certain deficiencies" which had emerged within the party. The First Extraordinary Congress, held after the 14 November Readjustment Movement, was considered by comrade Vasco Cabral as another historical movement to the extent that "the party began to establish

stronger links with the masses" and, consequently, "the mass organizations became stronger, particularly the Amilcar Cabral African Youth, which enabled it, in conjunction with the party, to play a fundamental role today."

"The party today plays its true role as a leading political force" and proof of this can be found in the fact that "various achievements have been organized and directed successfully," such as the elections which brought "broad popular participation and enthusiasm" and which "confirm the indisputable adherence of the masses."

But the party's current importance resides in the fact that it effectively directs all sectors of activity within Guinean society, according to that PAIGC leader. "The party's action has turned out to be of the utmost importance in making decisions on the economic and social levels, in addition to the role which it must play as the leading force of our society, in other words, it must essentially play the role of political leadership."

On the other hand, when questioned by ANOP about the significance of the makeup of the new Council of State, the permanent secretary of the Central Committee mentioned the "profoundly democratic" way in which the activities carried out within the context of institutional normalization and the return of Guinea-Bissau to legality were accomplished. Right now, Vasco Cabral announced, the new Council of State is a body intended to function properly and the party took into account the effectiveness which that body must show.

Council of State Made to Work

There was also concern with making sure that the Council of State "would reflect the party's political importance" and this is precisely why, according to that BP member, the above-mentioned body consists of comrades with great responsibilities in the party, especially members of the Political Bureau and, quite obviously, the men in charge of the mass organizations; at the same time, popular representation is also guaranteed.

In the opinion of the permanent secretary of the PAIGC Central Committee, the Council of State of Guinea-Bissau expresses "the party's political force and all that is new in relation to that body is that it was constituted to work well."

Questioned, on the other hand, about the formation of a new government, comrade Vasco Cabral replied that it would be quite normal to constitute a new executive branch since not only the Council of the Revolution and the 14 November Readjustment Movement were dissolved but since the provisional government was also terminated while other government agencies were likewise established on an institutional basis. "Therefore," he said, "it will be necessary to form an executive branch and that executive branch will naturally have to reflect some changes that were made recently within the party."

As for the particular date, comrade Vasco Cabral said that "the party's leadership bodies have not yet met" and, according to the constitution, "this is one of the areas of competence of the chairman of the Council of State" whose suggestions and proposals will carry great weight when it comes to making decisions.

As for the possible establishment of party relations with Cape Verde, Vasco Cabral emphasized that various actions had been undertaken on the government level. "In the area of cooperation, we have diplomatic missions in our two countries; the top leaders of Guinea and Cape Verde have met on various occasions, exchanging opinions not only on relations between our governments but also on international affairs and they participated in various summit meetings held in the context of solidarity with the 'Five.'" On the party level, "this will perhaps be a matter of time."

The leader also said that "we are not gods on Mt. Olympus to enable us to pull strings on that issue."

It is as a matter of fact, he concluded, quite a good thing in this particular matter "that ever better relations are being established on the government level."

International Conference on Amilcar Cabral

Another question taken up by the permanent secretary of the Central Committee had to do with an international conference on the political personality of Amilcar Cabral to be held in Bissau between 3 and 6 December in the context of the commemoration of his 60th birthday. According to Vasco Cabral, various international organizations, friendly parties, and personalities will be invited; as of this moment, the secretary-general of the PAIGC has already sent out invitations to Swedish Prime Minister Olof Palme and Indian Prime Minister Indira Gandhi; the World Peace Council has issued a communique fully supporting the event to be thus held in Guinea-Bissau.

Among the initiatives to be carried out we have the organization of a photo exhibit on the national liberation struggle, as well as a long film made by the country's moviemakers in cooperation with the USSR, the GDR, and Czechoslovakia.

The permanent secretary of the Central Committee reaffirmed unconditional support for the liberation movements in Africa, the SWAPO and the ANC, while at the same time "we forcefully condemn apartheid and we denounce all crimes carried out by the racist regime of South Africa." This "is true independently of the fact that we think that it is a very good thing, as Samora Machel said, that conditions are being created in southern Africa which will lead to peace, understanding, and a new 'modus vivendi' between the countries in that region."

Still talking about the situation in southern Africa, Vasco Cabral said that the policy pursued by Angola and Mozambique is something that has to be decided by those two countries only, by their leaders and their respective vanguard parties, the MPLA and the FRELIMO. According to him, the PAIGC will condemn any kind of interference or conditions demanded by South Africa with relation to those countries from the viewpoint that "each people has the right to make its own decision and there must be no interference by foreign powers in the domestic affairs of each state. There has to be respect between nations and this is what must be a part of international ethics in our day."

On the other hand he noted that "it is in the interest of nations that there be stability, that there be no foci of tension, as a contribution to peace" and, on the basis of the principle that "we are for peace, we are for understanding and cooperation between nations, on the basis of respect for sovereignty," the Lusaka and N'Komati accords therefore, in the opinion of the permanent secretary

of the Central Committee, constitute "a big victory for the Front Line countries since this was a concrete step toward 'hamstringing' South Africa and forcing it to have more respect for other peoples who are its neighbors."

Important Role of UNESCO

Vasco Cabral, who also touched on the "long-standing" relations with the socialist countries that "must be strengthened in the interest of our peoples," talked about the situation of the UNESCO which, even before the total conquest of independence, already maintained relations with the party which it also aided. "We will always believe that the UNESCO plays a very important role and our position regarding the organization's problem is that we support all its positions which are in line with the principles of our party and our state."

We think, Vasco Cabral emphasized, that it is of the utmost importance for all countries to support the UNESCO and that above all the richest, industrialized, free-enterprise countries, which therefore have great possibilities, contribute to the extent of their possibilities so that the UNESCO might increasingly become a valid instrument for the defense of the interests of science and culture.

For Vasco Cabral, Guinea-Bissau, as a member of UNESCO, will continue fully to support it and, particularly, its director-general, so that this international agency may truly be a democratic forum, working particularly in defense of the interests of the developing countries which need more aid.

According to the permanent secretary of the Central Committee, that support will have to be understood as a contribution in the sense of making sure that the UNESCO will continue to be governed by the principles that have guided it until now so that there will be full freedom within it and so that individuals may openly express their positions, so that they may defend the interests of the respective peoples and the interest of culture, science, progress, and peace.

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CSO: 3442/426

ARMY'S 'VIOLENT' 'PACIFICATION OPERATION'

London AFRICA CONFIDENTIAL in English Vol 25, No 12, 6 Jun 84 p 8

[Text]

UGANDA/KENYA: OPERATION OVERKILL: In a new development along Uganda's borders with Kenya, the two national armies appear to have joined forces in a "pacification operation". It is aimed at the largely pastoralist peoples of Pokot, Karamoja and Turkana.

Cattle raids are a traditional feature of life in this area. But since 1979, when the capture of Moroto Barracks from Amin's soldiers led also to the "liberation" of thousands of automatic weapons, lawlessness has increased and deaths from cattle raids have mounted alarmingly. Amongst young warriors the traditional respect for tribal elders has collapsed and many have grouped together into bands of "ngorokos" or bandits.

In Kenya there are enormous pressures on land. The Pokot herdsmen have long resented the encroachment of Luhya and Kikuyu farmers on their traditional dry-grazing areas, and this tension was exacerbated when their local MP, Lotodo, stated the Pokot case in parliament and was arrested upon suspicion of starting a separatist movement. (Arms were allegedly found in his mother-in-law's tomb.)

On 15 February, the *Voice of Kenya* announced that the Pokot had one week to surrender all illegally-held arms. Not a single gun was handed in by the deadline, so the Kenyan army, supported by the General Service Unit (GSU), police and anti-stock theft units, moved into southern Pokot on what one relief worker termed "a punitive expedition". People were herded together for interrogation, chiefs beaten up, homes looted, and all domestic animals (12,000 cattle, plus sheep, goats and donkeys) were collected together in camps at Kacheliba and Kanyao, with the promise that they would be returned once the arms were surrendered. More than half the stock died from lack of water and grazing.

Meanwhile, the Karamojong warriors had begun a series of raids in Teso, Lango and Acholi areas to the west, and Sebei to the south. In response, Ugandan army and militia attacked Matany and Kangole in central Karamoja, on 1 January and villages around Namalu between 9-19 March. More than 40,000 were forced to flee. In both cases, the victims were peaceful agriculturalists who had been encouraged to settle after the disastrous 1979/80 famine.

At some stage during these disturbances, the Kenyan and Ugandan armies evidently decided to combine forces to combat the "ngoroko threat". Further north in Pokot, the Kenyan army encountered resistance at Kapchok and Kodich. They responded by cutting off all food supplies to the area, by using helicopters to strafe herds and attack homes with cannon and incendiary bombs. Weakened by hunger, the local people surrendered 105 guns, but by this time, most of the young men from the area had fled to Mount Kadam, 30 miles inside Uganda, though still part of traditional Pokot territory. Here, on the bare mountain, the fugitives came under attack from Kenyan gunships. Some reports suggest Ugandan helicopters also participated. By early April, 40 truck-loads of Kenyan troops had arrived at Amudat, a Pokot area inside Uganda.

The signs are that this operation is likely to continue northwards. In Kenya deadlines have been issued for the return of weapons in Sigor division (on the border of Pokot and Turkana), and also in Baringo to the east. Southern Turkana is reported to be deserted while further disarming operations have already begun in the north of the province. In Uganda, Acholi and Langi militia are said to be massing for an attack on Jie, in northern Karamoja. According to vice-president Paulo Muwanga, the operation to disarm the Karamojong has yet to begin.

There appears to be a growing tendency among Kenyan army chiefs to advocate the use of force when dealing with armed tribesmen. With 35 Pokot known to be dead, herds wiped out and food supplies disrupted, all for the recovery of a few hundred weapons, the government is now being accused of over-reaction, and the Kenyan army of indiscriminate violence.

The Ugandan army is experienced in "pacification operations", having carried them out in West Nile and Luwero. The same tell-tale signs are apparent in Karamoja, killing and massive displacement of innocents, wholesale looting and the complete collapse of the area's infrastructure. Two-thirds of arable land lies unplanted, food prices have quintupled as regular food supplies have been curtailed. The Ugandan government has once again, had to request international relief aid. While the "ngorokos", soldiers and militias fight, aid workers fear that Karamoja and Pokot are on the brink of yet another fearsome famine ●

CSO: 3400/2034

MACHEL FLARES UP OVER DEPENDENCE ON SOUTH AFRICA AT SADCC CONFERENCE

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 10 Jul 84 p 11

[Article by Jasper Mortimer]

[Text] GABORONE — In a stunning display of presidential wrath, Mozambique's Samora Machel has shown the world Press just how sensitive he is to any suggestion that the Nkomati Accord compromises the anti-apartheid "struggle".

The remark that touched the president's raw nerve was a question asked at the Press conference that closed the Southern African Development Co-ordination Conference summit in Botswana on Friday.

Drum magazine reporter Mr Stan Motjuwadi asked how the Nkomati Accord, and friendly gestures from Angola and Swaziland, would affect the SADCC's aim of lessening its dependence on South Africa.

Botswana's President Quett Masire, the SADCC chairman, tactfully replied that such accords did not contradict existing ties between South Africa and SADCC states, such as the Customs Union.

The question would have died there had the Mozambican leader not stood up and said he wanted to reply to "the black

South African".

"Where are you going to write the answer to your question? Is it for black people, coloureds, Indians, or whites?" Mr Machel asked.

The president then launched on a fiery description of the Southern African states' struggle against colonialism, the Wenela mine labour system, and South Africa's economic domination.

"Mozambique and Angola became independent with weapons in their arms," he said. "They fought against the propaganda of journalists."

Leaning forward, the president thrashed the air with his arm and glared at Mr Motjuwadi.

He spoke so rapidly that his interpreter abandoned attempts to finish his sentences.

His presidential colleagues, Dr Masire and Tanzania's President Julius Nyerere, looked embarrassed.

"I would like you to stop

being proud of belonging to a particular tribe and become only South Africans.

"Our non-aggression agreement is for your South African brothers not to attack my country — that's the only thing, good neighbourliness."

The president sat down in a huff. When Mr Motjuwadi asked if he could reply, Mr Machel said he did not wish to hear it.

Returning to the subject later, the president called out to "Drum" (as he referred to Mr Motjuwadi) to ask if he knew how often the SA Air Force had invaded Mozambican airspace.

"Please, Mr President," said Mr Motjuwadi, "I don't hold any brief for white South Africans."

The point that Mr Motjuwadi, who is one of Drum's best-known writers, did not support apartheid seemed to sink home for at the end of the Press conference Mr Machel rose to say that "Drum" was officially invited to visit Mozambique.

DIFFERING VIEWS ON HOW TO UNIFY NATION

Country at 'Decisive Crossroads'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Jul 84 p 25

[Article by Sampie Terreblanche, professor of economics, University of Stellenbosh: "We Must Pluck a Few Feathers From the Fat White Goose"]

[Text]

SOUTH Africa is at a decisive crossroads in its history. The white electorate has made a clear choice of a new political direction and has chosen power-sharing with the coloureds and Indians.

Important decisions on adapted forms of power-sharing and/or co-responsibility with the urban blacks are inevitable and apparently already in the pipeline.

But, although we have a seemingly inexhaustible capacity to talk about political change, we tend to forget about its economic costs — in financial, structural and ideological terms.

It is, in the interaction between economic and political change, generally difficult to distinguish between cause and effect.

There can, however, be little doubt that the economic growth of the past two or three decades was a necessary precondition for the broadening of democracy to include coloureds and Indians.

But it is equally true that without the present constitutional changes it would be very difficult to maintain ongoing economic growth in the decades ahead.

From an economic point of view the new constitutional dispensation is not only possible but also necessary. Its implementation, however, will be successful only if it can be complemented by the important structural economic reforms required to remove certain unacceptable anomalies and unnecessary stumbling-blocks.

The attitude of the whites — especially those in positions of economic privilege and power — towards these necessary economic reforms will be the real test of our preparedness for fundamental

political and constitutional change.

The most important long-term economic effect of the new constitutional dispensation will be the extent and direction of government spending.

Government spending on other population groups has since 1910 been at a chronically low level. Now coloureds and Indians in parliament will help correct this unfortunate trend.

One must, however, hope that they will realise that Rome was not built in a day. Because of the obvious vulnerability of the South African economy, the two new Houses will have to show the necessary restraint in their demands for increased government spending, and gradualism will have to be the keyword.

Free-marketeters are still obsessed with the idea that government spending must decline as a percentage of total spending, but this is a pipedream. Their approach is based on the nonsensical supposition that government spending is unproductive.

Government spending, in fact,

is mostly indispensable and productive. It creates and maintains the social, educational and physical infrastructure on which the long-term productive capacity of the rest of the economy depends.

Unfortunately, the Government often delivers its goods and services at too high a price because of proverbial bureaucratic inefficiency and because certain pressure groups — mainly in the white sector — misuse their power to obtain more from the Government than they deserve or the economy can afford.

Greater efficiency and cost-effectiveness in every corner of government activity is now more desirable than ever before. The Government must also exercise a strong disciplinary grip on all the mainly white pressure groups.

These two things are prerequisites if government spending is not to increase by another 10 percent or more of total spending in the next decade.

If, as in all probability, these two preconditions are not met, it will be unfair to blame only the new dispensation for further in-

creases in government spending.

Higher government spending on other population groups is unavoidable — apart from humanitarian considerations — if we want to create the necessary productive capacity to keep the wheels of our economy turning. Let us be careful not to blame the wrong culprits.

The financing of relatively high government spending will be one of the most difficult problems with which the tricameral parliament will have to wrestle.

South Africa's relatively small tax capacity is a distinguishing feature of its economy. In a special sense it is one of the original root causes of apartheid and not its result, as liberals like to believe.

Apart from the present depressed state of the economy, its tax capacity is limited by the fact that the modern sector is relatively small for a country with a population of 30-million — especially if South Africa is seen, as so many whites like to see it, as a First World country.

South Africa is not a First World country but at best a microcosm of the First and Third worlds. The privileged First World sector has no choice but to carry greater responsibilities for the uplifting and development of the large Third World sector.

One of the greatest challenges facing the new Minister of Finance will be to pluck the luxurious and unnecessary feathers of the goose that lays the golden egg, but to do it in such a way as not to kill the goose or to disturb her egg-laying capacity or inclination. That will take some doing.

The Minister can take comfort from the fact that the living standards of most whites are too high. I am not saying this with any *schadenfreude*, but simply because we must be as realistic as possible.

But let us be honest about at least one thing: the white goose has a lot of unnecessary feathers that can be plucked for better purposes, without causing too much harm. And those in privileged and

protected positions can work a lot harder to match their high incomes with higher productivity.

One possible way of collecting additional income for the Treasury is to simplify the tax laws. The exploitation of tax loopholes has become something of a national sport — seemingly played without any moral scruples.

A special reason for the close interaction between economics and politics is because both have to do with power, and the new constitutional dispensation is an honest attempt to correct the unhealthy concentration of political power in white hands.

In the economic arena we also have too many monopolies and too much power concentrated in the hands of eight or 10 conglomerates, and in a hundred or more well-institutionalised, mainly white, pressure groups.

It is an irony that free-market rhetoric resounds in an economy so characterised by power blocs.

The business world is not only very ingenious in promoting its free-market propaganda, but each separate group is equally ingenious in its attempts to convince the Government that its particular activity is of a "strategic" nature and therefore deserves extraordinary government aid and protection.

A hard and critical look at the "conventional wisdom" propagated by the South African business community is long overdue.

In the ideological spirit of the new constitutional dispensation, the business community can do much more in the direction of *mitbestimmung* and power-sharing.

To counter widespread poverty, the business community can also do more (and talk less) about its social responsibilities towards groups other than white.

The greatest long-term challenge facing the South African economy is to create as many jobs as possible. Industry must try to

build a growing capacity to export products produced by black labour.

Therefore it must be possible for industrialists to buy their non-labour inputs on the cheap international markets.

But will this ever materialise if we listen to lobbies which demand all kinds of protection? Some of the strongest lobbyists for protection are, surprisingly enough, the big conglomerates — the same groups which internally propagate the free market.

Given this kind of contradiction, the task of the political process to sort out the difference between short-term sectional interests and long-term general interest is not only obvious but also very urgent.

I hope action to create *lebensraum* for the informal sector will also be high on the priority list of the tricameral parliament.

According to reasonable estimates, 6-million to 7-million heads of household will by the turn of the century have to earn their living in the non-modern sectors of the economy.

Too many typical First World rules and regulations rob many of these people of the opportunity of earning a living in the grey sector on the periphery of our urban centres.

These rules and regulations are, in fact, a subtle and disguised form of apartheid because they keep some "out" and others "protected".

If boundaries have to be broken down, the "boundary" of the excessive "regularisation" of the economy has to come down — at least to a certain degree.

It is important that the structural problems inherent in the South African economy be rectified as soon as possible.

If not, those on the political far right and far left may find it convenient in five years to blame the new constitutional dispensation for the economic problems that exist today.



Economy 'Up the Creek'

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Jul 84 [no page No given]

[Article by George Palmer, former editor of the FINANCIAL MAIL: "We Must Stop the State Grabbing So Much of Those Feathers"]

[Text]

THE South African economy is up the creek. What's gone wrong? There are fundamental structural reasons, short-term cyclical factors, and plain bad luck. The root of the problem is easy to trace.

For years South Africans have been consuming too much and producing too little. We've masked the debilitating effects by inflating the money supply, lavishly buying on credit, holding interest rates down artificially, and paying ourselves ever-spiralling salaries and wages.

At the end of each round of over-spending, we have stood around like a group of junkies hoping for another gold fix and yet another (short-lived) escape from economic reality.

That reality is now beginning to surface at a time when we are also having to cope with the backwash from two years of drought,

a stampede from gold and an adverse trend in our terms of trade with other countries.

Not only that. We are also paying the price for a period of exceptional fiscal and financial indiscipline that is the more destabilising because we've got out of step with our main trading partners.

We've still got double-digit inflation. But they've long since turned their backs on the panacea of cheap money, and are determined not to keep repeating the vicious cycle of inflation, currency depreciation and economic stagnation.

National extravagance in South Africa has coincided with a prolonged economic slowdown.

Between 1972 and 1982, South Africa managed no more than a meagre 0.6 percent growth in productivity.

Even Kenya surpassed us with a productivity growth of 1.4 percent. And 1972-82 was the decade in which the gold price topped \$850 an ounce.

Take a more recent indicator. In the first quarter of 1983, according to the National Productivity Institute, output per employee in manufacturing industry was 4.5 percent lower than a year before.

Yet salaries and wages were nearly 18 percent higher.

Although national output per head has been growing at a snail's pace over the past decade, we've been generating additional claims against it at a horrendous rate.

Between the end of 1980 and the end of 1983, output increased by less than half a percent. Yet the money supply was allowed to surge by an incredible 71 percent.

Over the past decade, the Minister of Finance has regaled us with dire warnings about the need for fiscal discipline. But what do we find in practice?

In 1983, a year in which real output contracted by 3 percent, government spending soared by 21 percent.

Slow economic growth and fast-rising government expenditure implies a massive transfer of resources from the (more productive) private sector to the (less productive) public sector.

A third of the white workforce is now employed in central, provincial and local governments and in the postal and transport services.

At this rate every two white taxpayers will soon be supporting one white bureaucrat.

Not only is an inflated public sector to blame. Personal spending has also gone haywire.

Since mid-1983 consumer credit extended by the banks has been growing at over R1 000-million rand a quarter.

Today half the total lending of the banks is to individuals.

Sue Kell of The Discount House reckons that as much as 30 percent of personal consumption is now financed on credit — and that excludes mortgages.

The other side of the coin is the disappearing saver. Not long ago, people used to save on average 12 percent of their disposable income.

Today the figure is probably less than 3 percent. Can one come to any other conclusion than that interest rates, far from being too high, have been too low?

Remember, the small man still gets only around 8 percent on his savings before tax. And when he does save, he is hit in the teeth by inflation.

The external counterpart of lax monetary management is a weakening balance of payments.

Over the past three years, over-spending at home and low productivity, drought, a declining gold price and sluggish markets for exports have contributed to a current account deficit of R6 600-million and a steep downturn in our net gold and foreign exchange reserves.

So it's not surprising the rand has fallen out of bed. Over the past decade its external trade-weighted value

has diminished by 26.5 percent.

Speculation and the recent debacle in the bullion market have knocked it back even further.

The impact on import costs and inflation of a rand worth around 66 US cents is too horrible to contemplate.

Hopefully, the dramatic collapse of the rand will be the red light that will stop policy-makers in their tracks and spur effective counter-action of a fundamental nature, in addition to the palliatives announced so far.

Here are some of the measures that are urgently needed:

- Enforcement of a rigorous system of national priorities. We simply don't have sufficient resources to achieve all our political, social and economic goals simultaneously.

We can't afford simultaneously to invest in new mines and factories, live better, and to develop the homelands and independent states; decentralise industry; restore our roads; maintain a huge and growing defence establishment; modernise our communication system; subsidise South West Africa; give every child — black, white, coloured and Asian — an adequate education; provide decent housing for all. And so on.

- Roll back government spending as a percentage of GDP to a level that leaves the private sector with a larger share of available resources.

If recent trends continue, the country will soon be in a vicious spiral of ever higher state spending, heavier borrowing, higher capital costs, higher taxes, reduced productive investment, a shrinking tax base and economic stagnation.

- Allow interest rates to rise, regardless of the consequences for special inter-

est groups, until they more truly reflect the demand for, and supply of, capital and credit.

Productive investment and personal saving have to be restored to levels appropriate to a capital-hungry advanced developing country.

If we are not prepared to suffer a period of real disinflation, the only alternative is to bring back the direct controls needed to hold excess purchasing power out of the market.

- Bring the real and the financial sectors into better balance and average wage and salary increases into step with real productivity growth.

- Develop an effective strategy for preventing the huge rise in domestic liquidity that in the past has followed periodic increases in the gold price and sudden large surpluses on the balance of payments.

These large swings in liquidity destabilise the economy, make it difficult to control the money supply, ignite inflation and can disrupt the financial markets.

- Finally, we should ask ourselves why productivity growth in Japan, and in such developing countries as South Korea, Hong Kong, and Taiwan, has been so much faster than in South Africa.

They don't have the advantages of resource-rich economies. Yet they outperform us in productivity and their industries out-sell us in world markets.

One answer is that they have been giving priority to economic growth, while we've been giving priority to other things.

Another side of the same coin is that they have consistently consumed less and invested more than we have.

Their employees have been paid less and have worked harder. South Africans are going to have to do the same.

GOVERNMENT'S COERCIVE RESETTLEMENT POLICY CRITICIZED

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 9 Jul 84 p 12

[Editorial: "The Focus of Resentment"]

[Text]

THE British Methodist Church Conference held last week can hardly be described as radical or extremist. By a large majority, it rejected calls for disinvestment in South Africa, preferring what it calls its policy of "positive engagement". But on one issue, particularly, it took a hard line — forced removals. It unanimously condemned forced resettlement, which it saw as "diabolical". This was also Mr P W Botha's almost universal experience in his travels round Europe. The greatest criticism was focused on forced removals, Mrs Margaret Thatcher referring to the "deplorable impression" they created. At press conferences, apparently, the Prime Minister was at his most vulnerable when pressed on the effects of such removals and "resettlement". Clearly, as long as they continue, they will not only perpetuate the human resentment and misery they so often bring in their wake, but also offer overseas critics the best ammunition to support their pleas for total isolation of South Africa. The British Methodist Church restricted its activism to the sports boycott. Many other organizations are using it to justify their campaign for an economic boycott.

The fact is that whatever tortuous explanations are used to justify government action, the removal of tens of thousands of people against their will and out of their traditional homes is indefensible. The Surplus Peoples Project's estimate for the total number of removals is 3,5 million.

Dr Piet Koornhof's own figure is fewer than 2 million, of whom half a million had to move for "ideological reasons". Even if the SPP is 1,5 million out (which is debatable, for 834 000 constituted Group Areas removals, seemingly not taken into account by Dr Koornhof), 2 million represents uprootment on a global scale. The sheer statistics of it are hard to comprehend. In human terms, the amount of heartache and loss hardly bears thinking about. Yet the degrading process is far from complete. Many more still face the possibility of abandoning what they have built up over the years, including Cape Town's own black community in Langa, Nyanga and Guguletu.

Until the government changes its policy of coercion (the word used unintentionally by the Prime Minister on one occasion, before he corrected himself) even the moderates abroad will have no option but to add their voices to the general chorus of condemnation. If the land and houses to which the government wishes to transfer communities are really a great improvement as claimed, in comfort, in facilities, in available employment and in services, the affected people will of their own accord make the move in the end and in their own time. But the choice must be theirs. Nobody, not even the most paternalistic authority, has the right to impose its will on a community "for its own good". Such action is the antithesis of the co-operation the department is allegedly supposed to embody.

STAR EDITORIALS ON LOCAL GOVERNMENT BILLS, MUZOREWA'S DETENTION

Regional Services Councils Bill

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jul 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Another Chance Thrown Away"]

[Text]

A HUGE opportunity was missed when the trilogy of local government bills finally came up for debate in the outgoing Parliament. Typically, the Conservative Party criticised the Regional Services Councils Bill because it "amounted to power-sharing" with coloured people and Indians. More realistically, other opponents of the Bill recognised that it did not provide enough pooling of effort.

The three-tier system after all takes South Africa back to pre-1936, before parliamentary representation began whittling down first to separate rolls, then white exclusivity. Instead of taking its new opportunities, our rulers hustled puny part-racist Bills through with unseemly haste, giving the impression that they were avoiding scrutiny by the coloured and Indian Houses. Although the Regional Services Councils Bill has been referred to a Select Committee, the principle cannot be altered. In practical and ideological terms the Bill satisfies nobody but the National Party faithful.

Here was a wonderful chance to remodel the tired old system of regional government that hamstrung local development into a dynamic force slicing through racial grouping for common benefit. Everyone not blinkered by the apartheid theme visualised a nonracial metropolitan board sharing not only power but group experience, initiative and purpose. It could have been a step towards building a practical democratic infrastructure for the South Africa of tomorrow. What is offered instead misses that ideal by the proverbial mile. For one thing regional services councils would not be elected and thus answerable to voters. Blacks will still be on the outside without representation, merely being allowed to contract the councils for services.

All round, the regional government Bills are a story of half-measures and opportunities flushed down the sewers. They could have been a significant step towards a federal solution of South Africa's complex race tangles.

Bishop Still Under Detention

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jul 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Where Is the Proof?"]

[Text]

BISHOP Abel Muzorewa today entered his 259th day in detention in Zimbabwe — and still it is not known why he is being held. The Government is going by the book in bringing the former Prime Minister's case before a review tribunal at regular intervals. But it is an ill-written book that does not allow even that tribunal to reveal the allegations made. It is difficult to see how this politically spent force can pose any sort of threat. If he does, public production of the proof is long overdue. The same applies to others who have been detained even longer than the Bishop.

CSO: 3400/2061

'BRAVE NEW POLITICAL EXPERIMENT' UNDERWAY

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Chris Freimond]

[Text]

THE LAST session of South Africa's Westminster-based Parliament is over, and in less than two months the new Constitution will be implemented.

For the first time in the 74 years of a unified South Africa, people other than whites will sit in Parliament ... albeit in racially separate Houses.

In terms of National Party policy the change is a significant step away from exclusive white political power.

Although white Nationalists will dominate the new system, coloureds and Indians will, for the first time, have a say in central decision-making.

It is also possible that there will be coloureds and Indians in the Cabinet, which will introduce a significant new dimension to government.

While there are procedures built into the new system to allow the majority party in the "white" House of Parliament and the executive State President to effectively bulldoze most measures through, such action would defeat the "consensus" the NP is aiming for.

In theory at least it would appear that the new system has a good chance of success, provided all the groups involved adopt an acceptable "give-and-take" approach.

In effect, South Africa is moving into a unique political experiment which, some of the more optimistic observers believe, could become a laboratory where answers to some of the country's more complex racial problems might be found.

The Government's constitutional advisers are confident that the "new deal" is a step towards an even wider democratic system. Some believe blacks must eventually be included. The timing of such a move, however, is up to the politicians.

It has been widely argued that the new system in its present form — and in the absence of any declaration of the Government's intent, the continued domination of a white minority and the exclusion of the vast majority of South Africans — could doom it from the start.

It is further argued that the new dispensation not only fails to address the domestically and internationally unacceptable issue of statutory racial discrimination, but is in fact based on strict racial compartmentalisation and will perpetuate apartheid.

In this respect, the new Constitution could cause major problems if and when

the Nationalists decide to start moving away from apartheid.

The dilemma they face was clearly illustrated in Parliament this week when the go-ahead was given for a Nationalist dominated select committee to consider recommending the repeal of the Mixed Marriages Act and Section 16 of the Immorality Act, which prohibits inter-racial sex.

The committee was effectively instructed to bear in mind the racial "ordering" of communities in South Africa.

Put in its true contradictory perspective, the Government said apartheid could go as long as it did not upset the "order" that apartheid had forcibly created.

It is a problem that the Nationalists are likely to be confronted with time and again as their "coloured" and "Indian" partners in the new system push for more rapid movement away from apartheid.

The manner in which the Nationalists resolve this particular dilemma — if indeed they can — is likely to be a valuable pointer to whether or not they will be prepared to face what must surely be their ultimate dilemma ... how to allow the

majority of South Africans to decide themselves who should be in political power.

But regardless of which popular theories — if any — are eventually proved right, from September the whole day-to-day political scene is set to change radically.

An executive State President with considerable power and only indirectly responsible to the electorate will rule the country as head of the Cabinet.

"Own" and "general" affairs seem likely to become everyday terms and will serve to re-emphasise the racial content of the Constitution.

Legislative procedure will alter. The Westminster style of open public debate on proposed laws and other issues will effectively be replaced by a system of inter-party standing committees — probably deliberating in secret — at which "consensus" will be strived for.

Bills will be debated at the Second Reading stage, by which time, it is envisaged, most if not all the main points of difference between the majority "white," "coloured" and "Indian" parties will have been resolved to allow the measure a relatively smooth passage through the three Houses.

It is not clear what role Opposition parties in the new Parliament will play and to what extent their existing right to fiercely oppose contentious Bills in public debate in the House will be maintained.

It does seem, however, that the "conflict" style of parliamentary opposition built into the Westminster system will largely disappear.

In fact, the role of opposition parties — and in particular the largest opposition party, currently termed the Official Opposition — is unclear.

Although the opposition parties in each House will be represented on the proposed standing committees, the main debate and search for "consensus" will inevitably be between the majority parties.

Opposition politicians are hopeful that their current role of keeping a close check on the Government and being able to raise matters and question Cabinet Ministers in public debate will continue.

Another "unknown" in the new system is the degree to which the media will be able to report what is happening in Government and Parliament.

At present reporting from Parliament is practically restriction-free, which

is highly significant in a country with considerable restrictions on the Press.

With much of the initial work on draft legislation likely to take place in standing committees behind closed doors, it is not clear how much of the cut and thrust of the parliamentary debate in the existing system will remain.

However, it seems likely that parties such as the Progressive Federal Party and the Conservative Party will continue in some form or another — and most certainly in public — to fiercely oppose the Nationalists.

On reflection, there is probably only one certainty in the new system and that is that it will not be dull.

The demands and pressures for change both inside and outside Parliament and from abroad can only grow.

If the Nationalists can use their system to successfully accommodate the need for considerably more reform — the so-called "first step" theory — there could be hope for the future.

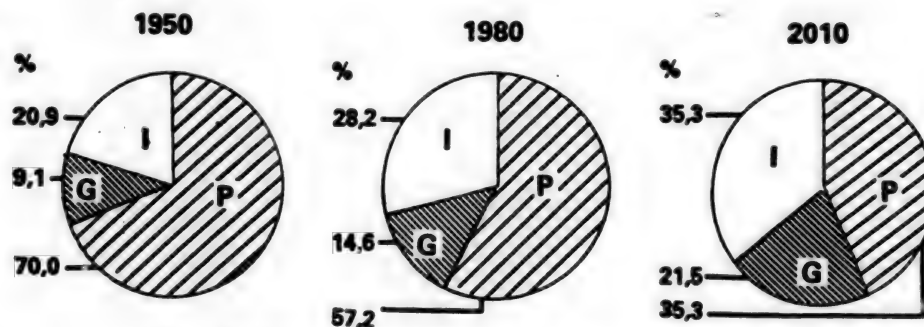
But if it is merely an entrenchment of "white" political power and the co-optation of "coloureds" and "Indians," South Africa could be heading very rapidly towards the inevitable and horrific consequences of apartheid and racial persecution.

FLAWS IN ECONOMY HIGHLIGHTED

Capetown THE CAPE TIMES in English 7 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Hermann Giliomee: "A Friendly but Urgent Note to Barend du Plessis"]

[Text]



Expenditure on GDP: P = Private Consumption, G = Government, I = Investment
Source: Aart Roukens de Lange, Institute for Futures Research, Stellenbosch.

EVERY new Minister of Finance sparks off the hope that he will remedy one or two of the serious flaws of the South African economy and curtail some of the costly political excesses.

Since there is almost no chance of the Nationalist government being defeated at the polls we expect our prime ministers and ministers of finance to exorcise the unsound policies of their predecessors and to set out in new, more rewarding directions.

What serious flaw should the bright and promising new Minister of Finance, Mr Barend du Plessis, address?

If he is in search of ideas he can do no better than to take five minutes off to study a fact sheet recently issued by the Stellenbosch Institute for Futures Research.

Based on Aart Roukens de Lange's exhaustive study "The National Accounts of SA (1983)", this two-page sheet tells a most startling and disturbing story of our economy. It is a story which has profound consequences for our political system. No one who has read this sheet can continue to believe, with Mr Horwood, that we have a basically sound economy. It is in fact deeply flawed.

Segments

This sheet shows pie diagrams (see alongside) for the expenditure on the gross domestic product in 1950, 1980 and 2010.

Each pie is divided in three segments according to the proportion of the GDP that were taken up respectively by private consumption, government spending and

investment spending.

In 1950, 70 percent of the GDP was spent on private consumption — people spending their incomes on consumer goods. Only 9,1 percent was spent by the government (on infrastructure, local and central government salaries, etc) and 20,9 percent was expended on investment (building factories or shops or buying machines).

By 1980 the pie had come to look quite different. The proportion of GDP spent in private consumption had dropped to 57,2 percent while that of government spending had grown to 14,6 percent and that of investment spending to 28,2 percent.

If present trends continue, a dramatically different picture will exist by 2010. The proportion of private consumption will have dropped from

the 70 percent of GDP in 1950 to 35,3 percent. The proportion of government spending will have grown from the 9,1 percent in 1950 to 21,5 percent. And the proportion of investment spending will have jumped from 20,9 percent in 1950 to 35,3 percent.

Income

But money spent on buildings and machines takes away money that workers could spend on consumer goods. Put differently, investment spending siphons off money from the wage and salary bill. This is why the proportion of consumer spending, shown in the diagrams, has declined so sharply since 1950.

Another set of figures computed by Roukens de Lange hammers this point home further. Our post-World War II rate of disposable personal income has been 3,8 percent per annum but since 1975 this has dropped back to 2,1 percent.

The kind of capital investment South Africa has experienced has led not only to a stunted demand for consumer goods but also to a horrifying unemployment problem.

Firstly workers have been replaced by machines. For instance a recent thesis by Mr M de Klerk has calculated that the number of seasonal black labourers on white farms has declined to 520 000 in 1978 from 780 000 in 1969. Partly as a result of mechanization the white farms may have shed nearly two million black labourers over the last 10 to 15 years.

Secondly, capital intensification, or switching from workers to ma-

chines, has made it prohibitively expensive to create new jobs. Roukens de Lange has estimated that the cost of creating a new job for a black worker in this manufacturing sector has (in 1975 money values) doubled from R33 000 in 1960 to R61 000 in 1980. (This takes into account the factor of old factories being closed down and new capital being employed.)

All this has helped to produce the escalating unemployment problem of South Africa.

On the basis of careful research Dr Roukens de Lange has found that in 1980 about two-thirds of the economically active black population were employed by the formal sector — people actually receiving wages, salaries and other forms of regular income.

The other third had only a very marginal income out of the informal sector (in squatter camps, relocation settlements, etc) or were unemployed.

If present trends continue, only half of the economically active black population will be formally employed by the year 2000, some 13 percent will be in the normal sector and more than 36 percent will be unemployed.

By the year 2010 only 45 percent of the economically active black population will be employed by the formal sector. The other 55 percent will be a massive *lumpen* proletariat, comprised of desperately hungry people scavenging around for food, as Dr Philip Spies has aptly phrased it.

How did South Africa land in this terrible mess?

One could blame the high black birthrate, or

the apartheid policies trying to limit black people in the cities to a minimum, or business which has tried to adopt the American and European capital-intensive system of production.

But blame will get us nowhere — the basic fact is that our economy is not shaped to suit our greatest resource, namely an abundant supply of labour.

Ironically the crisis has been compounded by some of the so-called progressive forces. Take the Sullivan code which tries to improve wages and working conditions of black workers. This has only reinforced the trend of business bidding up the wages of the limited supply of the black workers in the cities before the overall supply of black labour in South Africa has been exhausted. It has led to more capital intensification, more black people being made redundant and a further swelling of the army of unemployed.

To my mind, foreign pressure on business has to an important extent been misguided and counter-productive. Far more good would have been achieved for black people as a whole and for reforming South Africa if foreign pressure had been directed purely at achieving the free movement of labour and the lifting of influx control.

What is to be done?

I have a suspicion Mr Du Plessis will have an answer ready: we shall keep influx control but we shall encourage the relocation of industry to bring work to the unemployed in the homelands.

Economic decentralization is a dangerous and costly fallacy. In

spite of all the money spent up to the present on the number of new jobs created in the formal sector of the homelands, this represents only five percent of the new jobs created in the formal sector of South Africa.

What about the new Good Hope incentives?

Gavin Maasdorp shows in a forthcoming study that even under favourable assumptions it will not make much difference. For instance it would deflect 700 000 people from the Durban metropolitan region, but it would not stop the population doubling or trebling itself over a 20-year period.

And both the direct costs and opportunity costs of decentralization are far too high for South Africa to afford, given the shape the economy is in.

There are also other options. One could turn the homelands into concentration camps to prevent the unemployed flocking to the cities. One could stage massive roadblocks. One could continue to raze squatter camps like Crossroads.

One could in the years to come turn a blind eye to hundreds of thousands of black people dying of hunger. One could turn a deaf ear to the truth that only the cities offer the unemployed of the homelands a hope to survive.

One could also lift influx control, use tax incentives to stimulate employment rather than capital investment and provide the unemployed with a low basic income.

As a wise man once said: Men and nations turn to rationality after they have exhausted all alternatives.

SUBSIDIZATION OF CISKEI CHALLENGED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 10 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Patrick Laurence: "Ciskei and SA--Who Is Subsidising Whom?"]

[Text]

PRESIDENT Lennox Sebe, of Ciskei, has a reputation for profligacy, which he has been accused of exercising at the expense of the South African taxpayer.

Leaving aside the charge that he has wasted public funds on grandiose projects, there is a prima facie case that his regime is heavily subsidised by the South African treasury and therefore by the South African taxpayer.

But that assumption is challenged by Mr Ian Hetherington, a Johannesburg businessman who was a member of the Swart Commission and who is now a member of President Sebe's Planning and Development Advisory Council.

Mr Hetherington concedes that more than 80% of Ciskei's revenue of nearly R338-million is made up of "transfer payments from South Africa".

But he contends that closer examination of transfer payments raises the question of whether Ciskei is not being short-funded and, thus, of whether it is not indirectly subsidising South Africa.

Transfer payments, as Mr Hetherington calls them, account for nearly R278-million and consist of five separate amounts.

"My case is that I don't think they are foreign disbursements made at the cost of South Africa and the South African taxpayer," Mr Hetherington remarks.

The five transferred amounts and Mr Hetherington's comments on them are dealt with as they appear in the Ciskei's Current Revenue Account.

1. *Payment of nearly R12-million under article 1 (a) of the Development Co-operation Agreement between Ciskei and South Africa.*

It represents the tax collected from Ciskeian citizens living in South Africa by Pretoria's officials.

But, Mr Hetherington says, the actual sum due to Ciskei is difficult to determine and the amount handed over to Ciskei is what the South African Minister of Finance thinks he collected from Ciskeians.

"I think a better formula can be found. It is not satisfactory for the amount to be determined on the opinion of one minister of one of the two countries," Mr Hetherington comments.

2. *Payment of R120-million under article 1 (b) of the Development Co-operation Agreement.*

It represents the sum of money which the South

African Government, the Cape Provincial Council and lower-ranking authorities would have spent in Ciskei if it had not opted for independence. The duration of the agreement is three years. It can be terminated unilaterally at a month's notice.

Mr Hetherington notes that R120-million is not adjustable for inflation, which is to the disadvantage of Ciskei.

The agreement is renewable after three years. But there is no certainty on the sum of money which will be paid under the renewed agreement. It is due for renewal before the end of the year.

Mr Hetherington says: "It is very difficult to exercise financial responsibility when your income is uncertain. It is one of the main issues which Ciskei is raising in the current bilateral discussions with South Africa."

3. *Payment of another R120-million in customs and excise duties under the Economic Relations Agreement between Ciskei and South Africa.*

It presents the amount due to Ciskei as a member — in South Africa's eyes — of the Customs Union.

The amount is calculated under a complex formula which depends in part on the estimated de facto pop-

ulation of Ciskei and the size of the informal sector in Ciskei's economy. The greater the population and the bigger the role of the informal sector, the larger the amount due to Ciskei.

Mr Hetherington believes that both may be underestimated to the detriment of Ciskei.

4. Payment of R1,9-million in terms of the Monetary Relations Agreement between the two countries.

It represents the interest earned through the continuing circulation in Ciskei of the rand currency system, Mr Hetherington says.

"We would like to probe it to find out how it was calculated. Somebody somewhere made a calculation. How is it made and how is it kept current. The currency in circulation fluctuates."

5. Budgetary assistance of R24-million paid by South Africa to Ciskei.

It is the only item which can be strictly classified as foreign aid. But, at this level, Ciskei may be subsidising South Africa, Mr Hetherington argues.

About 80% of the money spent by resident Ciskeians is spent in South Africa, whose coffers benefit from sales tax (now fixed at 10% on all but a small list of exempted items) imposed on purchases by Ciskeians.

Mr Hetherington says: "South Africa, of course, collects the sales tax, but doesn't come back to Ciskei, at least not directly."

In Mr Hetherington's view, the share of sales tax due to Ciskei "may be R24-million or it may be R120 000".

If it is more than R24-million, then — in terms of Mr Hetherington's analysis — South Africa owes Ciskei money, rather than Ciskei being the lucky recipient of foreign aid.

Ciskeian migrant workers, he continues, contribute to the profits of South African companies, which, in turn, are taxed to the benefit of the South African treasury.

But Ciskei pays toward the upkeep of the workers' families in Ciskei through provision of housing, health services and schools.

Consequently, Mr Hetherington avers, Ciskei has another claim on Pretoria which makes use of labels like "foreign aid" and "hand-outs" misnomers.

Summing up, he says: "Ciskei would like a financial arrangement which is reasonably predictable and which is equitable, not one which is characterised as charity at the expense of the South African taxpayer."

IMPROVED EARNING PROJECTED FOR LTA

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Jul 84 p 10

[Article by Brendan Ryan]

[Text]

LTA expects to improve its earnings in the year to end-March 1985 and maintain the higher earnings in the following financial year, according to the chairman, Dr Zach de Beer.

The construction group's earnings for the year to end-March 1984 dropped to 52c on aggregate operations, from 82c in the previous financial year.

Interviewed in Johannesburg yesterday, he said the LTA group had an excellent year to end-March, except for two disastrous contracts on which it sustained heavy losses.

These were the Soweto reticulation contract and a railway electrification project.

Taxed profits for the year, excluding losses on these contracts, rose 36% to R15,967m, but after bringing them to account, profits dropped 17% to R7,508m.

Dr De Beer says substantial claims regarding the Soweto work are being processed and one large claim concerning the railway elec-

trification contract has been referred to arbitration at the client's insistence.

"There may thus be recoveries at some future date. Despite the decline in bottom-line earnings, the dividend is being maintained because we have plenty of confidence in our business," he says in his annual review, which was released yesterday.

Dr De Beer said yesterday that LTA's present order book stood at R920m, which was quite good.

"The construction industry, however, tends to lag behind the economic cycle by about a year to 18 months.

"There is also at present a chorus of demands that the level of Government expenditure must drop.

"Government contracts account for about 50% of civil engineering work and as much as 90% of earthwork jobs. If Government expenditure is cut back, then this is obviously bad news for the civil engineering and earthworks contractors.

"We therefore look likely

to have a poorer time in 1985 and possibly into 1986 also.

"Should the economy pick up in 1985, then the construction industry should see the benefits in late 1986."

Dr De Beer said LTA was prepared to undertake construction contracts in Mocimboa do Congo, provided the financial arrangements were satisfactory.

"The work is certainly there. The possibility exists that another 1 600MW power station could be built on the north bank of the Zambezi river at the Cahora Bassa dam.

"The market exists on the Witwatersrand for power generated from such a station and it is a project that should be examined.

"We have raised the subject of this project wherever we felt it was appropriate," Dr De Beer said.

Dr De Beer says in his annual review that the two divisions responsible for LTA's two loss-making contracts had been closed down, but LTA had ensured that its

clients had continued to receive proper service.

"In the case of the railway electrification contract, work has gone well during recent months and is almost complete.

"In spite of the arbitration proceedings, relationships between LTA and the client are satisfactory.

"The Soweto situation is more complicated and more difficult. On the one hand, there were problems flowing from the lack of knowledge of ground conditions at the time of tendering, from the fact that the area had not been surveyed and from the simultaneous activities of other contractors working on sewerage and water systems.

"On the other hand, there have been many procedural difficulties, and protracted delays in dealing with contractual issues.

"Most of the actual work has been effectively completed and these issues can now be addressed.

"Naturally, all claims will be vigorously pursued, pending final settlement."

NATION'S ENORMOUS PUBLIC SERVICE SALARY BILL SCORED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 7 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Gerald Reilly]

[Text]

THE country's enormous public service salary bill has soared dramatically in the past 18 months.

This is apparent from latest statistics released in Pretoria yesterday by Central Statistical Services.

The figures support the claims of economists that the Government has gone too far in its efforts to achieve salary parity with the private sector.

In the first quarter of 1983 central Government workers — including SADF, prisons and police personnel — were paid R658 041 000.

A year later, in the first quarter of this year, the amount had escalated by 29,5% to R852 527 000.

Salaries of white workers in the central Government shot up from R398 204 000 in the first quarter of last year, and by R102 208 000 in the quarter to the end of March this year, to total R500 412 000. An increase of 25,6%.

The numbers employed — in spite of Government undertakings — to work towards a smaller and more efficient public service, increased by 22 799, more than 10 000 of them white employees, between March 1983 and March this year.

Salaries paid to workers in the four provincial administrations also rose sharply.

For the first quarter of last year they were paid R452 652 000.

This amount had increased by 22,5% to R554 877 000.

Numbers employed by the provincial administrations increased from 257 426 to 263 096.

The figures also reflect the heavy dependence on black workers in the central Government.

At the end of March this year white workers totalled 150 576 and black, coloured and Indian workers totalled 233 913.

And the politicians are doing just as well as the bureaucrats.

Earlier this year it was announced that Cabinet Ministers' salaries and allowances will cost R2 172 00 in 1984.

The Prime Minister's salary, with reimbursive non-taxable allowances, was pushed up to R114 000.

The 19 Ministers will each pocket R78 000, and the nine Deputy Ministers R64 000 each.

The Ministers' and deputies' total also includes substantial tax free reimbursive allowances.

It is estimated that the Cabinet Ministers' salary bill has risen by a spectacular 81,35% since 1980.

The PFP parliamentary spokesman on the public service, Major Ruben Sive, said the reason why so many African countries bankrupted themselves was not because of tribalism or inefficiency but because of the growth of huge bureaucracies.

He said the salary of a director general of a department was nearly R6 000 a month but with the State's obligations, including pension and medical aid, the gross amount was R8 561.

On retirement at 60, with a lifetime's service, he was entitled to a gratuity of R218 065.

At the other end of the scale a social worker grossed R1846 a month, including pension and medical aid payments by the Government and housing perks, retired with a gratuity of R35 579 and a pension of R720 a month.

Major Sive said the Government's salary bill accounted for 27% of the budget for 1984/85.

Next year the total — if trends continued — would exceed 31%.

He added that the National Productivity Institute was to carry out a study in the public service.

Hopefully, this would lead to a smaller and more efficient service, he said.

CROESTER GROUP PROPOSALS CRITICIZED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 13 Jul 84 p 7

[Article by Paul Bell]

[Text]

GOLD and other exports are down, taxes are up, the economy is still labouring under the effects of a major downturn and the Government faces increasing pressure to spend much more.

Small wonder, in this climate, that Mr Gerhard Croeser's working group proposals on employment, turnover and investment taxes (to be gathered for the benefit of local government and black urban areas) have been referred to in some business circles as "the three-headed monster".

Recent statements by commerce and industry spokesmen indicate that the Croeser proposals have become the subject of intense lobbying. The message from business is — more money for local government must mean less money for central Government.

Two weeks ago, the Minister of Finance, Mr Owen Horwood, seemed to back away slightly. Discussing local Government financing in Parliament, he did not mention the Croeser recommendations.

He said that legislation on new local government revenue sources would stand over until next year and that all parties would be consulted.

Mr Raymond Parsons, Chairman of Assocom, gave a comprehensive analysis of the private sector's viewpoint on Croeser in a speech to the Institute of Municipal Treasurers and Accountants in April.

He summed up the business response with a set of conditions, of which the crucial one was that the Croeser taxes be a substitute for certain other taxes.

Mr Croeser, when he addressed the Institute of City Engineers in May, replied reassuringly that the devolution of powers and responsibilities to local authorities would involve a concomitant decrease in central Government spending requirements. So the total tax burden would not increase.

But the bargaining is only beginning. Some business circles partly interpret the new metropolitan business supertax as an inducement to industry to decentralise to growth points outside metropolitan areas where healthy tax incentives are offered.

Mr Parsons said the economic performance of local authorities would have to be more critically assessed in future. Businessmen would closely examine the services and costs in different areas.

The notion did not displease Mr Croeser. But business has other requirements.

First, the Government and local authorities will have to loosen the economic shackles on black entrepreneurship.

For example, scrapping Group Areas Act controls to give blacks complete freedom to operate in central business districts and al-

lowing blacks to enter more highly skilled economic activities.

This would widen the economic base and, therefore, the tax base ... allowing blacks to contribute more to their own development.

Also, if business was expected to make large contributions to metropolitan — and particularly black municipal — development, then it should have a larger say in local government: "the corporate vote".

Since then, Assocom has said that while it supports the principle of the devolution of the power to tax, it does "not necessarily see the Croeser proposals in all respects as the best means of achieving that goal".

A Federated Chamber of Industries spokesman has said Croeser is by no means the last word on the subject, considering that the FCI is "deeply concerned" at the escalating tax burden.

The new taxes, he said, would meet a short term need but would have a long term effect, which would

amount to a distortion of the tax structure.

A fortnight ago the Financial Mail described the Croeser proposals as tantamount to a handout and raised the spectre of disastrous African aid programmes.

Business, it said, was not morally obliged to finance the backlog in apartheid-created dormitories, and blacks would need to shoulder a good part of the burden themselves.

For now, the Croeser proposals have been fed back into the national bargaining machine — specifically, the National Co-ordinating Council for Local Government.

So far, the problem has been tackled by senior civil servants. Business, whose input has been low-key, will now enter the process more fully.

What will emerge depends on major decisions yet to be made by constitutional planners on the structure of metropolitan government.

Mr Parsons said last week: "Now we shall put on our thinking caps. We have to recognise that this is a completely different ballgame and there is not necessarily only one answer."

And he added pithily: "The macro-economic picture will affect the art of the possible."

The Croeser proposals, first mooted three years ago, have gained momentum since the November Referendum; they represent the only detailed strategy at this stage.

But are there alternatives? Government and business will use the negotiating time to explore them.

A fortnight ago, the constitutional committee of the President's Council issued its final report, in which it referred to local government finances.

Acknowledging that the Croeser proposals had led to heated debate, it spelt out other options:

● "Newly identified sources of revenue such as establishment, investment and

employment levies" (the Croeser proposals);

● "sources of revenue that are transferred from other levels of authority, such as vehicle tax" (for which business will argue strongly); and

● "even a limited local regionally determined surcharge on GST" (for which white councils have been pleading almost since the introduction of the tax).

The third option, the committee believes, has enough merit to warrant thorough investigation.

Anticipating a scrap over the sharing of new revenue, the committee warned between the lines that black urban areas would need special treatment.

Back in the townships, hard-pressed councils are grim-faced.

Soweto will have light and power soon but the other municipalities are way behind.

They need houses by the thousands, land ownership, roads, tarring, sewers,

lights, repairs, improved water reticulation, new community facilities, poverty programmes which mean more than bulldozing shacks, improved transport.

They need shops close by, industrial and commercial bases, viable municipal services.

Blacks who have opted to "work within the system" are wondering whether the system will ever work for them, how long it will take — if ever — before they can turn to voters and boycotters alike and say: "We were right."

The bargaining between Government and business over the how's and how much, could, according to authoritative sources, continue for more than two years.

By the time agreement is reached, legislation is passed and the taxes collected, it could be three years before the councils see the first fruits of the process. And that will be only the beginning.

The debate is in full swing. The panelled, smoke-filled rooms are buzzing, in sharp contrast to the sullen patience of the smog-choked townships.

AFRIKANER INTROSPECTION TRIGGERS SELF-CRITICISM

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 9 Jul 84 p 6

[Article in the "Post Focus" column by Nadere Kennis and James McClurg]

[Text]

THE annual congress of the Afrikaanse Akademie vir Wetenskap en Kuns (Academy of Science and Art) has, as usual, provided an opportunity for some self-examination, or "hand in ele boesem steek", as the picturesque Afrikaans phrase has it.

Ways of improving the attitude of non-Afrikaners to Afrikaans were suggested by Professor Francois Odendaal, of the Department of Afrikaans at the Rand Afrikaans University.

"In the first place," said Professor Odendaal, "we must break away from our exclusivity and isolation. What are we so afraid of?"

"I know of no other group that is so worried and insecure about its own identity.

"Does this go together with a feeling that we want to be so much 'ourselves' that we will not do others the favour of letting them join us, except on our own exclusive terms?"

In the final analysis, the most important way of influencing the attitude of other groups towards Afrikaans was to change their attitude to "us as speakers of that language".

"If we treat others with humanity, if we really show Christian compassion, if we can project the image of an

open, warm, friendly group, well attuned to others, that cannot fail to redound to the benefit of our language."

□□□□

STILL harsher words are addressed to his fellow-Afrikaners by Professor Willie Esterhuyse, of the Department of Philosophy at the University of Stellenbosch, in a contribution to a newly-published book on human rights in South Africa.

The tendency at all times to give the State preference over the individual finds expression in the "split moral conscience" of the Afrikaner, says Prof Esterhuyse, as quoted in Die Burger.

"On certain moral questions, such as pornography, protest is not lacking. Political immorality, however, does not produce the same reaction.

"Nude photographs arouse protests, but when someone like Steve Biko is transported almost naked and, what is more, dies, there is little, if any, protest.

"An explanation for this must be sought not so much in insensitivity as in the concept that accords the State an exceptionally high priority and treats law and

order' as the absolute and sole source of salvation."

As a possible way of bridging the gap between white and black thinking on the State and the individual, Prof Esterhuyse suggests a declaration of intent signed by the appropriate leaders of all the population groups.

□□□□

A PLEA for the removal of the long-established restrictions on Asians in the Free State has come from a Bloemfontein newspaper, Die Volksblad.

In the first place Die Volksblad queried the exclusion of the Free State from the amendment to the Group Areas Act that will allow Chinese to live in white areas.

"A question that can no longer be dodged," it continued, "is what justification there is for continued discrimination in the Free State as against the other three provinces.

"What harm would it do to put the Free State — which is noted for the warmth and friendliness of its people — on an equal footing with the other provinces in the sphere of human relationships?

"Such an adjustment would include the repeal of

Chapter 33 of the Free State's old constitution, which forbids Indians to stay in the province for more than two months or to settle here."

□□□□

SEVERAL commentators in the Afrikaans Press have taken a markedly less lenient view than did Die Burger (quoted in this column last week) on the National Party's pamphlet in which it tinkered with Dr Andries Treurnicht's words on an official document.

Die Vaderland said the story of the pamphlet had had an influence on the Potgietersrust by-election, and the NP should ask itself whether it had not promoted the incident's propaganda value for the CP by its "over-reaction and attempt to defend the indefensible".

Under the heading "Pot and kettle", Rapport's political columnist, Pollux, said both the CP and the NP had been involved in "little tricks" of this kind.

One action did not excuse the other, and neither contributed to the value and dignity of the political debate.

Die Transvaler said that if one was dealing with an opponent who was prepared to sink to the lowest

level, it was not necessary to "wallow in the mud with him".

Like Die Burger, Beeld accused the CP of "near-hysteria" over the pamphlet, but conceded that the pamphlet had contained "one unfortunate error".

□□□□

HOWEVER strange and unpleasant the thought might be, the special Cabinet committee on the constitutional future of the blacks would not be able to carry out its task properly unless it held discussions with Bishop Tutu and other black leaders outside the official structures, wrote Harald Pakendorf, editor of Die Vaderland, in his personal column.

Bishop Tutu, said Pakendorf, was a moderate when measured against the ANC, and the closer such people were drawn in, the further they would be from the ANC.

Bishop Tutu also represented a "power factor" and was a personality in his own right, who could exert influence and to whom people would listen.

Comparing President Lennox Sebe of Ciskei unfavourably with Bishop Tutu, Pakendorf said: "If we can talk to a Sebe, then surely we can also talk to a Tutu."

RECOVERY OF PALMIET CHROME CORPORATION REPORTED

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jul 84 p 9M

[Article by Malcolm Fothergill]

[Text]

Ten years ago, Middelburg Steel's Krugersdorp operation — known to most of its workers as Palmiet Chrome — was a multi-million rand loss-maker with a disastrous safety record, low production and a fast-changing workforce.

Today, it makes healthy profits while its competitors struggle; it regularly wins safety awards; and has a labour turnover of around four per cent.

What makes the success story even more remarkable is that it has been written by a small group of engineers who started the turnaround with few management skills.

The plant began life as a reduction plant on West Rand Consolidated Mines.

It was closed down in 1955, then reopened in 1961 by three entrepreneurs who started producing ferrochrome.

In 1968, Rand Mines bought out the Palmiet Chrome Corporation from General Mining, and in 1970 it became part of the Barlow Rand stable. But neither move could stop the losses, which by 1973 had accumulated to R8 million.

Management at the time was — not unnaturally — considering closing the plant. But then decided to give it one more chance... and a last-ditch campaign was launched to change its fortunes.

SAFETY CAMPAIGN

First, for an outlay of just R150 000, one of the plant's three melting furnaces was converted to a submerged arc furnace to produce charge chrome, a high-carbon, low-chrome alloy that is

one of the raw materials in stainless steel.

Because the market price for charge chrome was high, the plant's fortunes changed immediately. By the end of 1974 it had registered the first profit in its history.

Hand in hand with solving the plant's technical problems went a vigorous safety campaign in which workers were encouraged to suggest improvements through safety committees chaired by their supervisors.

Safety incentives for each section of the plant stand now at R30 a worker for six months without an accident and another R70 for an accident-free year.

Valuable spin-offs from the campaign have included improved loss control (which automatically improved productivity) and greatly improved morale.

The figures tell a remarkable story.

In 1973, the plant employed 620 and produced 27 000 tons of alloy.

A decade later, it employed 430 and produced 85 000 tons.

The plant used 37,8 man-hours to produce a ton of alloy in 1974. By 1975 that had shrunk to 27,1 man-hours, and by 1982 to 10,7 man-hours.

Tons produced per employee rose between 1974 and 1983 from 5,7 to 18,6.

The number of workers who suffered disabling injuries nosedived, from 37 in 1974 to none in 1979, three in 1982 and four in 1983.

Labour turnover, at an annualised and frightening 84,4 percent in 1974, sank to 6,4 percent in 1982 and four percent in 1983.

Basically, two men were responsible

for turning the plant around decisively — former works manager Mr Kingsley Edwards, now with the Barlow Rand mining interests, and his successor, Mr Bruce Lund, a former Rhodesian who studied metallurgical engineering at Wits.

"We took a strategic management decision at the beginning," says Mr Lund. "We wanted to be the most competitive ferrochrome plant in the world and to establish a name that was second to none."

The safety committees were a most important factor in the turnaround.

"Each person had a part to play, and not only in safety. Everyone also had a say in increasing production by changing working methods.

"The attitude of management has also been important. We take a very caring approach — if someone is unhappy, we do our level best to see him right. In this way we have really got the workforce on our side."

DECIDING THEMSELVES

Part of the caring approach has been to provide not only subsidised housing for all employees, a pension fund, a medical fund and a unified pay scale but also extra facilities such as individual chairs and lockers for each worker.

Although the low average level of

workers' education — 77.2 percent of the plant's black workers have reached less than Standard 2 — might suggest their productivity would be low, management has found lack of formal education no drawback to improving output.

The key has been to encourage the workers to decide for themselves how best to do their jobs.

Management decisions still tend to come from the top, but worker participation is encouraged on all levels and is growing.

The plant has been working on quality circles for four years now and is beginning to reap the benefits.

"We have a long road ahead there, letting the workers share in the decision-making. It's a tremendous challenge."

Mr Lund and his small management team keep abreast of world developments in management from books and articles.

The plant has even invited experts such as "mind maps" creator Tony Buzan and US behavioural scientist Professor Donald Beck from overseas.

"We try to get as many fresh ideas as possible so we can widen our perception of what management is all about.

"Basically, we've used a common sense approach, with the emphasis on participation."

CSO: 3400/2061

'NEW DEAL' OFFERS CHANCE FOR SCRAPPING CONTROVERSIAL ACTS

Port Elizabeth WEEKEND POST in English 14 Jul 84 p 12

[Article by Dirk Van Zyl: "Start of Democracy? Only Time Will Tell"]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA'S first constitution uniting the former warring colonies and republics in 1910 was born in the optimistic fervour of the country's newly-adopted national motto, "Unity is Strength."

Pushed to the background was the bitter hatred engendered by the South African War as Boer and Brit gave constitutional recognition to the need to build a strong country.

But unfortunately the "unity" contained a fatal flaw in that it was directed solely at the white groups, and there was no watertight safeguard on the limited franchise rights of South Africans of colour — something which could have led to their easier extension in time.

And even among the whites the unity proved to be short-lived, with a narrow-minded, inwardly-directed Afrikaner Nationalist party being founded in 1914 on the mistrust of past enmities.

For the next 70 years this party, in one form or another, dominated the South African political scene (also being ever-present during the Smuts United Party years) and all South Africans' destinies depended largely on its whims and fancies.

It was responsible for removing such rights as there were for coloureds and Africans in Parliament and fathered South Africa's second constitution with the coming of the Republic in 1961.

This constitution satisfied the "independence" aspirations of the *volk* but, once again, failed to accommodate the country's motto, "Unity is Strength."

From the point of view of the majority of South Africans it was born in a decidedly grimmer and less optimistic atmosphere than the first one.

And the central, perennial question of the political rights of South Africans of colour remained unresolved.

Early yesterday, the last session of the Parliament of this constitution (as indeed of the Westminster system which has served

South Africa since Union in 1910) came to an end.

Now, as the country stands on the threshold of its third constitution, there is again a mood of some optimism.

Are not people of colour being brought into Parliament under their own banner for the first time? Surely the "chemistry" of the new interracial mixing in Parliament will eventually lead to the removal of the initial apartheid inadequacies of the system, and to the bringing in of black South Africans, say the optimists.

But the pessimists say apartheid and Afrikaner Nationalism are being entrenched and that any mixing is only of a token, co-optive nature. They see conflict between the excluded majority and the entrenched minority as inevitable.

Whatever view proves correct, the new constitution is a fact and there can be no going back.

The dying moments of the last all-white Parliament were not without irony. Absent from the House of Assembly when it adjourned was the one

party which would have preferred no change at all — the Conservative Party.

CP members walked out in a huff late on Thursday night because extended sitting hours were being forced on them.

Another irony late in the session was the announcement that the coloured House of Representatives will sit in the old Senate chamber.

The Senate, enlarged by the Nationalists in 1956, was the very instrument through which the coloured people were removed from the common roll.

To return to the past session — the longest since the Second World War:

It had distinct phases and was relatively low-key as far as traditional strife between Government and Opposition was concerned. Disagreements arose largely from conflicting emotions about what was in store for South Africa.

Much of the session was overshadowed by the diplomatic adventures of the Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, and the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Mr Pik Botha.

In the last few weeks at-

tention focused largely on the legislation needed to get the new deal's wheels in motion. And there was undoubted succour for those itching to attend apartheid's deathbed with the announcement that four central racial laws are in effect to be the subject of inquiry by mixed committees of the new Parliament.

The chances have dramatically increased for the scrapping of

● Section 16 of the Immorality Act (which forbids

nex across the colour line).

● The Prohibition of Mixed Marriages' Act.

● The Prohibition of Political Interference Act and associated provisions of the electoral laws.

And, of course, a crack has appeared in the granite wall of the Group Areas Act with the opening of central business districts to traders of all races.

For the next seven weeks the spotlight will be on the coloured and Indian elections.

After that, the main elements of the timetable are: the new constitution comes into effect on September 3; Mr P W Botha is set to be elected South Africa's first executive State President on September 5; and the new Parliament is to be opened on September 18.

Only history will tell whether these steps mark the start of the road to full democracy and the final fulfilment of the words, "Unity is Strength."

(Report by Dirk van Zyl, 10 Baakens Street, Port Elizabeth)



FINANCING BLACK PROGRESS DISCUSSED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Jul 84 p 9

[Article by Paul Bell]

[Text]

THE Government has begun one of its more delicate egg-dances on the matter of how the 26 black town councils established last year will be financed.

The problem is: who can it afford to annoy more... urban blacks or the business community?

Most council budgets reflect deficits, a situation inherited from their predecessors, the community councils.

Yet if revenue is to match the expenditure needed to maintain even limited services, tariffs must rise sharply... in the face of stiff "ratepayer" opposition.

Furthermore, hundreds of millions of rand will be needed over the next few years to finance redevelopment in these areas.

Substantial new sources of revenue must be found. It seems the Government will look to commerce and industry to provide it, but initial proposals on new sources of taxation have already aroused quite heated reaction from the business community.

Meanwhile, the black town councils are caught in the crossfire. Elected in low voter turnouts that reflect either lack of interest or direct opposition to participation in Government-created structures, they face a serious legitimacy/credibility problem with their voters.

Failure to deliver on promises of better living conditions will exacerbate that problem and "prove" to black opposition groups that "working within the system" is meaningless.

On the Government side, evolutionary change depends heavily on creating a stable, satisfied urban black

middle and working class enjoying increasing political and economic interaction with the white community.

Local authorities are expected to balance their own books using their own tax bases.

Black urban areas were originally run and paid for by white municipalities through an employers' levy, rent and the proceeds of sorghum beer sales. The Government, however, gradually began to remove black urban areas from municipal control.

In 1973 administration boards took over township finances. The State provided development capital, but the boards were responsible for their own running costs and for two other critical functions... influx control and the allocation of labour to jobs.

A Johannesburg development expert traces the decline in township finances to the boards' assumption of these extra functions without additional sources of revenue.

Meanwhile, costs were going up. Municipalities were now charging economic tariffs for water, sewerage and the like, which they had not done when they were administering the townships.

The boards found more money by raising those components of rent which paid for basic services.

In 1977, the new community councils were given a measure of control over township affairs. With the demand for housing spiralling, they were given a crucial power of veto over board-proposed rent increases.

Researchers say this power became the councils' Achilles heel; they usually had no alternative but to do as board officials advised.

The councils, also expected to be self-sufficient, caught as much flak as the administration boards did.

Now, rent increases — often very necessary and even socio-politically justifiable — are the subject of a fierce, on-going political battle in urban black areas.

Nor are the councils insensitive to this. They have been told they must balance their own books. The bulk of their income must come from trading services — electricity, water, sewerage, rubbish removal, burial fees, etc — and site rent, and that these will be subject to annual increases.

The councils derive 70% to 75% of their income from trading services, 10% to 15% from site rents and the balance from sorghum beer sales.

But staying solvent means increasing tariffs... at the risk of increasing unpopularity with residents. Which accounts, for example, for the election promise last year by the now Mayor of the Soweto City Council, Mr E T Tshabalala, to decrease rents.

That promise could not be kept; the household levy on electrification, which is included in the overall rent bill, was increased from July 1.

This year, the Soweto City Council — which controls much of Greater Soweto — is budgeting for an income of R53-million, expenditure of some R66-million and a deficit of R13-million.

Take, for example, the council's single biggest financial commitment. Already, the fight is on as to who will be responsible for the interest and redemption of a R263-million loan for the electrification scheme.

The council is expected to pay more than R30-million a year for the next 25 years.

Mr Tshabalala recently said his council would not pay. Sources close to the Government say the council has no alternative.

Residents are expected to repay the installation costs monthly on a scale which moves from R17 at present to R29 within two years.

The Soweto City Council should have adjusted electricity tariffs twice since November... R4.50 then and another R4 in April.

The increase, when pressure finally rams it through, will be steeper than both combined.

The three councils of Greater Soweto — Soweto, Dobsonville and Diepmeadow — also share responsibility for a R150-million loan for infrastructural development, raised for them overseas by the Government.

Substantial repayments must begin soon.

Daveyton, on the far East Rand, is expected to earn just over R12-million and will spend nearly R16-million. The budgeted deficit was R3.8-million.

To cover it, the Mayor, Mr Tom Boya, and his town council had to almost double rents, push bus tariffs up by 12.5%, water tariffs by a third, creche and cinema tariffs by 50%.

Mr Boya was as unhappy as his residents.

He said: "The increases were not well accepted, but we had no choice. What we have left is far from adequate; it gives us no room for growth and the whole township needs rehabilitation."

Mr Don Mmesl, Mayor of Greater Soweto's smallest township, Dobsonville, endorses self-sufficiency. He says he does not believe in handouts and that his council will plan according to what it can afford.

In practice, Dobsonville will have little room to move. The council is understood to be budgeting for expenditure of just under R6-million, a shortfall of about R900 000, and tariff increases of about 10%. It will also have to repay its share of the loans to Greater Soweto.

The new councils are now anxiously casting about for more revenue.

Mr Boya suggests all immovable property should belong to the council.

At present, the ownership of land in black municipal areas is being negotiated between the councils and the Government. The councils want control, and provision is made for this in the Black Local Authorities Act.

Housing represents the single most important source of power in urban black communities. The councils

would prefer to own the rented houses now owned by the boards.

Others would say private ownership — such as under the 99-year lease scheme — would permit resales at much higher, market-related prices, which would create new wealth in the community.

Sorghum beer brewing and sales remain with the development boards, although revenue is returned to the area in which sales are generated.

Liquor will be a tussle, since the Cabinet has committed itself to "privatisation" of outlets. Many councils want the outlets and their revenue transferred to them.

But if the councils are to be stuck with privatisation, then — Mr Boya and Mr Mmesl believe — revenue from the sale and licensing of outlets should go to the councils.

Mr Tshabalala proposes toll bridges. Mr Mmesl proposes taxing buses and taxis and applying for vehicle and licence testing rights.

Both have referred to vehicle licensing, an option which, Mr John Knoetze — chairman of the West Rand Development Board points out — could involve more expenditure than income.

Everybody speaks of the need for industrial and commercial growth in and around the urban black areas, which would serve as a source of development revenue for the councils.

But with the backlog of services to meet, and the prospect of black urban populations doubling within the next 15 years, it could take many years before the councils are on a financial footing comparable to that of white municipalities.

Twenty years ago, blacks were regarded as urban only in a temporary sense; now they are accepted as permanent partners. But the legacy of former policies has necessitated a massive Government re-think on the finances of urban black development.

The Government has established new principles. It is now a question of how it will implement them.

FAK CONGRESS HIGHLIGHTS AFRIKANERS' RIGHTS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Jaap Therson]

[Text]

AFRIKANERS were entitled to their own identity and if they preferred to retain such an identity, they should not be accused of racism or negative discrimination when they defended it by being concerned about their own schools, their own values, their own living areas and the development of their own culture.

This was yesterday's "keynote" message by Professor Marius Swart, deputy chairman of the Federasie van Afrikaanse Kultuurverenigings (FAK), at the organisation's annual congress in East London.

"If the Afrikaner wants the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, let them have it," he said. "It is a decision they have taken, with regard to themselves, that they need it."

After Prof Swart's speech the congress broke up into groups to discuss various details, and to argue points from the

speech so that the FAK congress "could reach practical solutions," as Prof Swart put it.

All sides

The views he had expressed represented arguments from all sides and were not necessarily his own.

He stressed that internal differences of opinion did not mean the end of the Afrikaners as a nation. In view of the onslaught on the Afrikaner "volk" it was necessary that many more Afrikaners should come forward to participate in effective cultural services to their own kind.

"When we refer to the Afrikaner everyone knows we refer to a group of White people with a specific language, history, theological belief, origin,

tradition, culture, fatherland, identity and ethnical awareness.

"The Afrikaners want to be known as Afrikaners — not as White or Brown Afrikaners — they strive to remain White. They want to retain this status by a high level of births within own circles."

Not agents

Prof Swart said Afrikaner cultural organisations were trying to uphold their own criteria and were not agents or back-up organisations for anything else.

"The Afrikaner does not apologise to anyone for being an Afrikaner, or for rendering services to his own people. The Afrikaner may never become a strange sort of fugitive in his own country, and

for this reason must give serious attention to his own culture.

"If we neglect our culture and throw our doors open to individual liberalism, mixing of blood, to neutrality of nations, we the Afrikaner could be destroyed biologically and become a culturally unrecognisable group."

The Afrikaners must reject calls upon them to lay down their arms, or to shed their belief in God.

Detrimental

Prof Swart said the latest population figures showed that about 88 percent of all Afrikaners were living in cities and towns. They made a total

of 55 percent of the White population. But the immigration policy since 1961 had brought about that 94 percent of all immigrants were English-speaking — a situation which was detrimental to the Afrikaners' position.

It was misleading to argue that one could divorce politics and culture, for whatever reason. Politics was only a small subdivision of culture, and if politics threatens to overtake culture with a view to politicising the entire nation, then such a trend must be opposed in the interest of cultural freedom.

Differences in party politics should be settled on political platforms and not in the cultural arena, said Prof Swart.

AVW Slated as 'Disruptive'

EAST LONDON. — The chairman of the FAK, Professor Gawie Cilliers, has accused the Afrikanervolkswag of dividing the Afrikaner cultural community.

Speaking at the annual general meeting yesterday, Prof Cilliers said he was deeply disappointed at the splitting of the cultural community into two camps after the founding of the Afrikanervolkswag. The division corresponded to the current political differences in Afrikaner ranks.

He suggested the apparent inability of Afrikaners to co-operate in the cultural sphere, despite political differences, was "immature".

Prof Carel Boshoff, the acting leader of the Afrikanervolkswag, and two other co-founders of the organisation — Prof P G Nel of the University of Pretoria and Dominee Mossie van den Berg, also of Pretoria — are members of the current FAK executive. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2061

MONDALE'S PAST OPPOSITION TO SA RECALLED

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Jul 84 p 6

[Editorial: "Mondale"]

[Text]

MR WALTER MONDALE, who has been chosen as the Democratic Party's candidate in the American Presidential election, is unlikely to beat President Reagan.

We, as a country, will be tremendously pleased if he doesn't, since we have had no love for Mr Mondale since the days, way back in 1977, when he tried to browbeat Mr John Vorster into accepting one-man, one-vote majority rule.

At that time Mr Mondale was Vice-President and Mr Jimmy Carter was President.

Mr Mondale said after that meeting: "Put most simply, the policy the President wished me to convey was that there was need for progress on all three issues: majority rule for Rhodesia and Namibia and a progressive transformation of South African society to that end."

He added the gratuitous warning that "we hope that South Africans will not rely on any illusions that the United States will in the end intervene to save South Africa from the policies it is pursuing, for we will not do so."

Mr Mondale also set out American demands by saying: "We are also of the opinion that full political participation by all the citizens of South Africa — equal participation in the election of its national government and its political affairs — is essential to a healthy, stable and secure South Africa."

He added: "Every citizen should have the right to vote and every vote should be equally weighed."

Mr Mondale's attempt to bully South Africa led to Mr Vorster winning the 1977 election with a record majority, even non-National-

ists voting for him in a flood of "keep your hands off South Africa" sentiment.

Relations between Washington and Pretoria went into the deep freeze, to remain there until the Reagan administration came to power.

In the years since 1977, Mr Mondale has not abandoned his hostility towards this country.

During his campaign for the Democratic nomination, Mr Mondale threatened to ban all South African Airways flights to the United States.

He also backed a ban on sales of Krugerrands in America.

His aides drafted the party position paper for the November elections. It states that a Democratic President will reverse the Reagan administration's "failed policy of constructive engagement and strongly and unequivocally oppose the apartheid regime in South Africa".

The platform also calls for a policy that would pressure South Africa to establish full democracy; scrupulously enforce the 1977 UN arms embargo against South Africa; ban new loans by US businesses to the South African Government and new American investments in the South African private sector; ban sales of computers and nuclear technology to South Africa, and reimpose Carter administration controls curbing exports to South Africa.

Although these proposals are not binding on a President, you can be sure that Mr Mondale, with his anti-South African track record, would be only too keen to have some, if not all, of these measures introduced if he were elected President.

Which is why we hope he loses.

We have no doubt that the South African issue is going to be injected into the Presidential race, if not to any major extent by Mr Mondale, then certainly by the Rev Jesse Jackson, who has promised Mr Mondale his full support.

Since most Blacks support Mr Jackson, there is an advantage in hammering South Africa.

Attacks on the Republic will be used to catch Black votes — and we will have to bear this prospect with the fortitude we learnt to observe during the Carter administration.

One thing Mr Vorster said that should be remembered by Mr Mondale today. It is that "my policy is not for export".

Nor is our independence and sovereignty to be breached by the likes of Mr Mondale or any other American leader.

CSO: 3400/2061

MP CRITICIZES GOVERNMENT WASTE ON 'UNPRODUCTIVE' PLANS

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Jul 84 p 13

[Text]

DURBAN. — The cost of living for the man in the street in South Africa was becoming "intolerable," while the Government wasted millions on "unproductive" ideological plans, Mr Ray Swart, MP (PFP Berea), said at a report-back meeting in his constituency last night.

Mr Swart said the burden of higher taxation and the repeated escalation of GST was "enormous" for the average South African.

Hundreds-of-millions of Rand were handed out each year to Independent States because they could not survive without aid, he said.

"We have no control on how this money is spent and there is growing and alarming evidence that much of it is being used unproductively and that the sense of priorities of those who administer it is sometimes lacking. Increasing poverty and starvation in these states remains a grim reality."

Mr Swart said apartheid was flourishing at great cost in South Africa, but racial harmony continued to elude the country.

The obsession with rigid race separation had already cost the country "dearly" through the years regarding internal goodwill and security.

To implement the "nat" ideology, millions of South Africans had been forcibly removed, resulting in despair and hostility, Mr Swart said.

A proliferation of state infrastructures and a duplication of services on a "massive" scale had been created. — Sapa.

(News by M Robertson, 85 Field Street, Durban).

DRIEFONTEIN RESIDENTS HONOR MEMORY OF SAUL MKHIZE

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 17 Jul 84 p 6

[Text]

THE PEOPLE of Driefontein owe it to Saul Mkhize, who was shot by police while fighting removal, to see his grave remains on ancestral land, leaders of the South-Eastern Transvaal community say.

"Saul was fighting for Driefontein, so Driefontein must fight for Saul — that he must remain here and not be exhumed," Mr Johannes Vilakazi, acting chairman of the council board of directors of Driefontein told hundreds of people on Sunday at a meeting marking discarding of mourning dress by Saul Mkhize's widow, Beauty.

Speakers included Mr Moses Ngema and Mr David Twala, leaders respectively of KwaNgema and Daggakraal, which are also resisting removal to the homelands.

the Government's recent recognition of chiefs in the area.

Mr Vilakazi told villagers to counter the imposition of chiefs, who might agree to the community's removal. "You make a man into a chief if you take your troubles to him. If you promote that man to be a chief, watch out.

"If you want your reference book to be fixed, don't go to the chief. There's a commissioner at Wakkerstroom who

was always standing for that duty for years. Now suddenly we must go to a chief."

Mr Pickson Mkhize, brother of Saul, emphasised that chiefs were foreign to the freehold farm of Driefontein. "No chief bought land here. None had the money to buy it."

The fear of villagers is that the Government will recognise chiefs as community spokesmen and quietly negotiate a removal pact with them.

Chiefs

Mr Vilakazi dismissed suggestions that the resistance was instigated by the Black Sash. "We own title here. No Black Sash person owns title at Driefontein."

He urged villagers to be self-reliant and consistent in their fight. He and other speakers voiced their suspicion of

ROLE OF PFP IN 'NEW DEAL' ASSESSED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 8 Jul 84 p 20

[Article by Colin Eglin, MP: "Ring Out the Old, Ring in the Unknown"]

[Text]

BY the end of this week the fourth session of the seventh Parliament of the Republic of South Africa — the last of our all-white, single-chamber, Westminster-type Parliament — will be over.

The Speaker's golden mace will have been locked away. The green benches will be empty — so will the public galleries and the official bays.

The Hansard writers will have put their recording and transcribing equipment aside, the Press gallery correspondents will be assigned to newsfronts away from the "floor of the House".

The ring of voices and the bustle of conversation will have given way to the silent step of messengers in the deserted corridors. To the casual observer there will be a hush.

But in the back rooms and offices a small band of parliamentary officials will be working round the clock to smooth the way for an

event which will be unique and could be of major political significance — the opening on Tuesday, September 18, of South Africa's new coloured, Indian and white three-chambered Parliament.

An all-time record

What has the last session of the old Parliament been like? What can we expect of the new? How will it affect the Government and the Opposition?

Where will an opposition party like the PFP fit in? What will its role be? What will it try to achieve?

The session now drawing to a close has been a busy and, in one sense, a testing one.

By the time Mr Speaker declares for the last time that "the House is adjourned", the House of Assembly will have come close to setting an all-time record for days sat, Bills passed, questions asked and select and standing committees convened.

Yet, in spite of the intense activity, the session has lacked the drama and ten-

sion of previous sessions, when Government and Opposition have waded into one another across the floor of the House.

Yes, there have been clashes. The PFP has hammered the Government on issues such as forced removals, inflation, the cost of apartheid, the massive hike in GST, the housing shortages etc.

The Conservative Party, with Pavlovian predictability, has fought hammer and tongs against every slight move away from apartheid.

But somehow this year's clashes have taken place in the shadow of the major constitutional changes that will take place in Cape Town in just over two months.

It is as if MPs — Government and Opposition alike — have been busy sizing up the new situation in which they will soon find themselves and the impact which the new Constitution will have on their parties, their tactics, their roles and their performances.

The new Constitution, yet to be implemented, has had an impact on the last session of Parliament under the old one.

There can be no doubt that the style of the governing National Party has changed in recent months.

It is as if the National

Party has come to realise that, if its abrasive confrontational style of politics of the past spills over into the new three chambers, the complicated constitutional system that it has designed simply will not work.

And so, while treating the Conservative Party as an uncompromising political foe bent on destroying any form of multiracial government in South Africa, the Government has in the main avoided sharp confrontations with the PFP Opposition.

Indeed, at times the Government has shown an uncommon willingness to consult and negotiate on a whole range of sensitive political issues.

And the PFP Opposition? What will its role be like in the new Parliament? Of course the PFP role is going to be different in style and in tactics, for the new parliamentary system within which the PFP will be operating is going to be different.

And it is going to be more difficult, for the new system is loaded against the opposition parties.

Behind closed doors

While there will still be open debates on the Budget

and the Votes of the Ministers, the new rules direct that all Bills must be considered by the joint standing committees consisting of representatives of the three Houses before they come to the three separate Houses for any debate.

It is on these standing committees, behind closed doors, that the details of the Bills will be discussed.

If on these standing committees the majority parties agree on a Bill, the opposition parties will not be allowed to debate the details of the Bill when it comes back to the three separate Houses for final approval.

The realities are unchanged

What is more, the rules and the Constitution combine to prohibit any debate taking place on any decision being taken at a joint sitting of the three Houses.

Put simply, the only interracial debates that can take place will be behind closed doors in the standing committees, where decisions will be taken by the majority parties of the three Houses.

Clearly, the PFP must play a traditional opposition role on the limited occasions when the white House of Assembly meets in open debate.

But it is also clear that, in spite of all the obstacles, it is on the joint standing committees that the PFP must gear itself to play an innovative and effective role.

It is here that it must try to shape legislation and work to promote understanding and endeavour to forge new alliances across

the colour line between those who share a common non-racist philosophy.

I believe that the PFP with its background and its policy is well placed to do this.

Yes, the PFP's style and tactics will of necessity be different, but the purpose of its activities, the objective of its tactics — that of striving to secure a richer, fuller, freer life for all South Africans — will not.

For the new Constitution, while it might have opened a door to new opportunities, will in itself not have changed the realities or the heartaches of the challenges facing us in South Africa.

First, then, in the formative period while the new Parliament is finding its feet, the PFP must spell out those fundamental principles and values which form the basis of good government no matter how Parliament may be composed.

These include concepts such as the rule of law, civil liberty, individual dignity, equality before the law, common South African citizenship and the right of every citizen of this country to lead a life free from discrimination based on race, colour and creed.

Secondly, the PFP must be the watchdog of the public interest. It must speak up for the ordinary citizen of South Africa. The Government has become fat and top-heavy and wasteful of the taxpayers' money.

The PFP must keep the Government on its toes. It must hammer the Government for not curbing inflation. It must attack the Government when it is wasteful and inefficient, or insensitive to the needs and aspirations of the ordinary citizen.

The PFP must stand up

for those who are pushed around, for those who are intimidated, for those, however humble, whose dignity as human beings is affected.

And when there is an indication of corruption, whether through misuse of funds or the abuse of power, the PFP must probe until those responsible for it are exposed.

Thirdly, the PFP must bring the Government back to time and time again to deal with the unfinished agenda, the unsolved problems and the outstanding challenges facing us all in South Africa.

These include the dismantling of discrimination, the socio-economic upliftment of our people, the housing of the homeless, the creation of employment, the stabilisation of the population.

Most urgent issue

But the overriding and most urgent of these unresolved issues is how we bring black South Africans into the decision-making process at local, regional and national level.

Amid the excitement and television extravaganzas which will hail the introduction of the new coloured, Indian and white Constitution, let us not forget that 29-million black fellow citizens are watching — and waiting.

If the PFP can persuade Parliament and the Government to address themselves to this central issue — the future of black South Africans in the social, the economic and the political fields — its efforts in the new Constitution will be well worth while.

GOLD'S PLUNGE SPARKS DEMAND FOR FINANCIAL DISCIPLINE

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 8 Jul 84 p 20

[Editorial: "Don't Gamble on a Windfall"]

[Text]

SOUTH AFRICA, it was once said, progressed by economic windfall and political disaster. That dictum which, for the better part of four decades protected us from the worst excesses of our own political folly, has now been turned on its head.

For the first time since 1948 this country has a Prime Minister who is trying to change the recipe for disaster only to discover that he may no longer have the cash to pay for political success.

The economic engine which South Africans believed would drive the wheels of change has stalled. Our unit of currency, which is not merely the measure of a nation's wealth, but of its pride, is plunging to new lows. Gold, which accounts for 50 per cent of our export earnings, this week plummeted below the magic level of 350 dollars an ounce.

It has been the country's — and Mr Botha's — horrendous luck that his troubles have come not singly but in battalions. That a crippling drought, which has cost the country millions in emergency aid and many more in expensive imports and put our balance of payments into deficit, has coincided with a soaring dollar, which, in turn, has put extreme pressure on the rand and on gold.

But although some of our problems have been caused in the world's money markets by the flight from gold into high-interest

investments in the United States, and in the relentlessly cloudless skies, most of our troubles have been of our own making.

They have been carefully crafted during years of profligate spending by a government which laboured under the belief that every problem could be solved if you threw enough money at it, by ideologues who lavished decades of this country's wealth on the world's most wasteful political philosophy, by a bureaucracy which, fed by those policies, has grown into a monstrous and greedy giant.

It is one of life's sad ironies that apartheid which cost so much to construct, could, via the new constitution, cost as much to dismantle, and even sadder that the years of waste have left little over to meet the cost of demolition.

The great temptation therefore will be to abandon financial discipline for the sake of political expediency — and it is a temptation which must be resisted at all costs. Only the most stringent belt tightening by both the Government and the taxpayer will see South Africa through its current financial crisis. The inevitable alternative is runaway inflation, a worthless currency and an impoverished, unstable country.

A government's first duty is to protect a country's borders and its currency. It cannot be allowed to gamble with either.

SCRAPPING OF IMMORALITY ACT URGED

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 15 Jul 84 p 24

[Editorial: "The Answer's Simple: Drop It!"]

[Text]

NO single piece of legislation more starkly symbolises the racial obsession that lies at the core of apartheid than Section 16 of the Immorality Act.

For years its presence — let alone the grubby way in which it was policed — has been a shameful smear on our statute books.

It has intruded on an aspect of life that should be sacrosanct — the right of people to love the partners of their choice. Its application has defiled hundreds of relationships. It has made criminals of people who have done no wrong. It has destroyed individuals and families.

All sacrificed on the altar of "self-determination" and "identity", those articles of a segregationist faith apparently so frail as to need such seedy protection.

In recent years, the Government has been shuffling away from the law and prosecutions have dwindled. But still it lodges in our legal framework.

Now a select committee that

has been investigating ways to "improve" the Act has asked for its terms of reference to be extended.

It wants the power to recommend the abolition of the law. This is welcome news.

Minister F W de Klerk, however, ever mindful of his verkrampte alter ego, has insisted on a caveat: any changes must take place within the social, educational and constitutional ordering of the society.

But what he should realise is that this kind of let's-have-it-both-ways equivocation no longer impresses real rightwingers, nor does it advance the cause of reform.

Soon Parliament is to be enlarged by the introduction of Asian and coloured representatives. The latter are products of unions made illegal under this law.

There has never been a valid moral justification for Section 16. Now even practical politics makes its continued existence intolerable. It must go.

NEW BULK BUYING SCHEME FOR BLACKS LAUNCHED

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Jul 84 p 2

[Text]

A NEW bulk buying scheme for black consumers has been launched.

A brainchild of Blackchain Limited, aims at helping consumers to buy foodstuffs and other household items at wholesale prices.

Called the Blackchain Buyers Operation (BBO), the scheme has been greeted with enthusiasm by consumers on the Reef, with about 400 people already registered as members.

Launch

Speaking at the launch this week, Blackchain managing director Mr Qhudelelimzweze Majola said: "This retail innovation is designed to capitalise on the only gift that God has given to the black community — the gift to our numbers.

"We believe that time has come when we must use the advantage of our numbers to benefit us. We have decided to use the power of unity to change the status quo in retailing."

BBO had realised that as individuals black buy-

ers are "nothing," but as co-operatives and organised buyers, they were powerful, Mr Majola said.

"If the community were to speak and act with one voice on issues of economics, welfare, education and politics, is it not that the affairs of this country could be turned upside down?" the managing director asked.

BBO aims at having

1 000 members throughout the Reef. Among other things, BBO members would participate in consumer education seminars and, through monthly correspondence, would be informed about forthcoming activities.

"As BBO we shall buy selectively, and buy products that we need," Mr Majola said. The membership fee is R20 a year.

TRANSVAAL WHITES EARN MORE, SURVEY SHOWS

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Norman Patterton]

[Text]

PEOPLE would rather live in the Cape and take a drop in salary than in the Transvaal, a survey by the University of South Africa seems to indicate.

In 1980, whites in the Transvaal had the highest income per head and those in the Cape had the lowest.

The income of whites in the Transvaal was 5% higher and that of whites in the Cape was 8% lower in 1980 than the average income per head of whites in South Africa and "national states".

These are a few of the findings of Unisa's Bureau of Market Research released this week.

The bureau found that in 1980 whites in Natal had the highest income per head. Whereas their income per head was 7% higher than the average for whites in South Africa and "national states" in 1980, it was 2% lower in 1980.

The bureau also found that between 1960 and 1980 annual growth rates in the real personal income of whites, coloureds and Asians were highest in the Transvaal.

The second highest growth rates in real personal income were those of blacks in the Transvaal, after those of

blacks in the "national states". The lowest annual growth rate in total real personal income between 1960 and 1980 was in the Free State.

The same applied to whites in that province compared with whites in the other provinces. The slowest rates of increase in real income per head between 1960 and 1980, however, were those of whites and blacks in Natal.

Between 1960 and 1980 the real personal income of South Africa and the "national states" rose by 155.2%.

During this period that of whites rose by 122.1%, that of blacks by 220.8%, that of coloureds by 346.6% and that of Asians by 332.5%.

The percentage increase in personal income was therefore lowest among whites and highest among Asians.

The real income per head of blacks and coloureds virtually doubled between 1960 and 1980 while that of Asians rose by 150% and that of whites by 50%.

Notwithstanding the considerable improvement in the welfare levels of blacks, the income per head of blacks (Africans) in particular remains low in comparison with that of whites.

In 1980 the income per head of blacks represented 9.9% of that of whites, with corresponding figures of 21.3% for coloureds and 30.0% for Asians.

The highest rate of increase in total real personal disposable income in SA between 1960 and 1980 occurred in Pine-town, Highveld Ridge, Kempton Park and Newcastle.

Real personal income was lower in 1980 than in 1960 in the following districts: Jagersfontein, Willowmore, Steytlierville, Pearston, Richmond (Cape), Hofmeyr and Bedford.

In 1980 whites in Ventersburg, Philipstown, Hoopstad, Clocolan, Barkly East, Tarka, Randburg and Molteno had the highest income per head in South Africa.

Their income per head was between 86% and 40% higher than the average for whites in SA.

Whites were poorest in 1980 in Lions River, Warrenton, White River, Jacobdal, Swarttruggens, Cullinan, Port Shepstone and Richmond (Natal) with an income per head of between 49% and 60% of the average for whites in SA.

The income per head of blacks was at least three times the average for blacks in SA and the "national states" in 10 magisterial districts in the Cape, one in Natal and three in the Transvaal.

In Babanango (Natal), however, the income of blacks per head was only 19% of the average for blacks in SA and the "national states" in 1980.

The report was compiled by professors Piet Nel and Helgard van Wyk.

NUMBER OF CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTORS INCREASES

Port Elizabeth EVENING POST in English 13 Jul 84 p 6

[Article by Marion Whitehead]

[Text]

THE number of national servicemen applying for religious objector status is on the increase, and they belong to a greater variety of churches than previous applicants.

The secretary of the Board for Religious Objectors, Mr David Fourie, was busy processing their applications as thousands of young men in the July intake kissed their families goodbye to begin their two-year stint in the South African Defence Force.

Meanwhile, supporters of the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) rolled up their banners after a week of activity which included a placard protest, a vigil and a public meeting in Johannesburg aimed at ending compulsory military conscription through the weight of public opinion.

The ECC, which is opposed to military conscription and believes conscription is the cornerstone of the "unjust" war in South West Africa/Namibia, is backed by organisations like the Black Sash, the SA Council of Churches, the Conscientious Objectors' Support Group and the National Union of South African Students.

Did they have any impact on public opinion, or were they simply the converted preaching to the converted?

Mr Fourie, sitting at his desk in Bloemfontein, had not even heard of the ECC.

He believed the increase in the number of applicants was a result of the board becoming better known through countryside visits to churches by the chairman of the board, Mr Justice M T Steyn.

Mr Fourie said it was too soon to give any figures but there was "definitely a slight increase" of applications from the July intake compared to the January intake.

Until the end of March the board had dealt with 115 cases of which 80 were approved, one was refused and the rest returned for completion or held over until an amendment was passed allowing the board to deal with applicants whose churches refused to co-operate with the board.

"When you open the en-

velopes now, it is no longer just 'The Kingdom' that falls out," Mr Fourie said, referring to the Jehovah's Witnesses.

He said the applications were a mixed bag, including Methodists and Roman Catholics, and smaller groups like Apostolics and Plymouth Brethren.

"Many applicants made it clear that they were thankful for the existence of the board," Mr Fourie said.

The establishment of the board earlier this year in terms of the Defence Amendment Act, passed in Parliament last year, brought the issue of conscription and the options to it, such as conscientious objection, into the open.

Mrs Sheena Duncan, president of the Black Sash, one of the bodies that started the ECC, said public response to the ECC placard protest had been good.

"The usual reaction nowadays is for people to pretend they have not seen you. On this picket, there were

more people reading the posters ('Peace Now' and 'SADF out of Namibia') and their expressions were of interest.

"This is an issue which affects every white family in the land," said Mrs Duncan.

But it appeared that the public were not sufficiently interested to go to the ECC meeting at the Central Methodist Church.

At the gathering of about 70 people it appeared largely as if the converted were preaching to the converted — a uniformed schoolboy and his mother and a couple of elderly people seemed to be the only ones who were not regulars at this type of meeting. And this despite the organisers having a drawcard like the controversial Windhoek advocate, Mr Anton Lubowski, who recently announced his support for Swapo, on the panel of speakers.

The most remarkable thing about the ECC meeting was simply the fact that

it had taken place at all. Seven years ago conscription was hardly an issue.

When Dr Anton Eberhard, South Africa's first conscientious objector who was not a member of the recognised "pacifist" churches, decided in 1977 to go to jail rather than serve in the Defence Force he was a complete anomaly.

The authorities did not quite know what to do with the young scientist who hated apartheid so much he refused to serve in the SADF, and he served only two months of his one-year sentence.

Earlier this year General Magnus Malan, the Minister of Defence, reported to Parliament that there were 300 people in detention barracks for failing to report for military duties.

The majority of these were probably from the pacifist churches like the Jehovah's Witnesses who used to go to jail but now do community service under the new legislation.

AZASO PRESENCE FELT ON 'ETHNIC' UNIVERSITY CAMPUSES

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 12 Jul 84 p 8

[Article by Jo-Anne Collinge: "AZASO: New Growth 'Despite Government Curbs'"]

[Text]

The Azanian Students' Organisation claims it has made inroads in the past year on campuses where Government and educational authorities have sought to curb it.

A campus-by-campus breakdown of membership figures is not available.

But the attendance of hundreds of delegates at its recent Soweto congress — and the election of Ngoye University law student Simpiwe Mgoduso as Azaso president — lend credence to the claim.

Mr Mgoduso is the first president in several years to come from an "ethnic university".

His predecessors were from the "open" universities of Wits and Natal, where black students are a minority.

ENMITY

Since violent clashes between students and Inkatha men on the Zululand campus last October, enmity between kwaZulu Chief Minister Chief Gatsha Buthelezi and Azaso has been public knowledge.

Holders of kwaZulu

bursaries are now required to sign a pledge of loyalty to Chief Buthelezi — whom Azaso rejects as an apartheid puppet.

The student organisation says it does not know whether the kwaZulu bid to control students has cost Azaso members.

But it now claims a solid following on a campus where, 18 months ago, its organisation was thin, and boasts a national leader.

"There has been an expansion of our organisation to all corners of the country," says Mr Mgoduso.

He adds: "There is a greater preparedness of students to take up issues, even on repressive campuses such as Fort Hare where the Sebe Government is posing daily problems."

The appraisal comes from one who is known by his colleagues as a doer rather than a talker.

He was a Natal regional co-ordinator for Azaso before taking on the top position.

Azaso lists members at 34 institutions, including universities, teachers' colleges and technical training centres.

Indications from the congress are that it is now in a position to let broad ideological issues rest and concentrate on implementing policy.

The organisation started in 1979 within the Black Consciousness camp — as a replacement for the banned South African Students' Organisation — but gradually came to favour the non-racial democratic approach.

The transformation was underscored last year when Azaso endorsed the Freedom Charter.

Since then affiliation to the United Democratic Front has linked Azaso firmly to the non-racial popular movement.

It has also provided a context in which students have become involved in community issues — such as the campaigns against the new constitution, the revamped black local authorities and conscription.

But it is in relation to thorny educational issues, such as lecture boycotts as a tactic of change, student representation, and cultural and academic boycotts that one gets a more telling glimpse of Azaso.

It views the organisation of students to campaign for student representative councils on all campuses as an important first step in democratic control of tertiary education.

Outgoing president Tiego Moseneke of Wits explained at a post-con-

gress Press conference that the bare bones of democratic education were freely functioning SRCs, student representation on university councils and meaningful representation of popular organisations at council level.

Mr Moseneke candidly fielded questions on the effectiveness of lecture boycotts in pressing for change.

"We question its usefulness under all conditions but we certainly don't condemn it," he said.

The feeling of congress delegates was that initially the boycott tactic had had enormous impact and had prompted change.

"But since then the authorities have developed the art of containing the boycott strategy," Mr Moseneke commented.

He added that alternative action suited to individual issues and institutions was under discussion.

A regular reaction to boycotts by the authorities has been closure of institutions, with or without the option of conditional re-registration.

Perhaps Azaso's closest ties are with its "junior partner" — the school-based Congress of South African Students.

The entire Cosas executive attended the Azaso congress, extending its influence well beyond the small post-matric population to a broadly based — and often volatile — high school constituency.

METAL WORKERS SPLIT; RIVAL UNION LAUNCHED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 16 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Phillip Van Niekerk]

[Text]

A MAJOR new union was formed on the East Rand this weekend when rebel shop steward committees from at least 38 factories broke away from the Metal and Allied Workers' Union (Mawu).

Mawu, a leading affiliate of the Federation of South African Trade Unions (Fosatu), is the largest black worker union in the steel and engineering industry.

The formation of the United Mining, Metal and Allied Workers of South Africa (Ummawosa) follows the sacking of four union officials, including the former general secretary Mr David Sebabi, by Mawu's national executive last weekend.

In a statement last week Mawu said the organisers — Mr Sebabi, Mr Sam Ntuli, Mr Enoch Godongwana and Mr A Sipeta — were fired for financial mismanagement and gross misconduct.

Hundreds of former members of Mawu's East Rand Shop Stewards Council gathered at a hall in Actonville, near Benoni, on Saturday to launch Ummawosa.

They declared themselves for worker control of the union, and a more politically active union, as well being opposed to bureaucracy and "white domination".

The meeting was organised by the four sacked organisers and the vice-president of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, Mr Andrew Zulu, who has been facing expulsion from Mawu.

The split means Mawu has lost a huge chunk of its support on the East Rand, a crucial area for worker organisation. A bitter inter-union war, with consequences for industrial peace, could be on the cards.

Already there is controversy over the refusal of the sacked officials to hand over the Benoni and Springs offices, as well as the union's East Rand records, to Mawu.

And the workers voted to extend their organisation into the mines, which could bring them into conflict with other mine unions such as the National Union of Mineworkers (NUM).

Ummawosa claims to have membership at six mines already.

A proposal to insert the word "black" in the unions name was rejected after other workers had argued that their problems were not with white workers but with "whites who joined us, not as workers, but as intellectuals".

Mr Zulu has been elected acting president of Ummawosa.

RAJBANSI VOWS: WE'LL BRING BLACKS INTO POLITICAL SYSTEM

Johannesburg THE STAR in English 16 Jul 84 p 3

[Article by Gary van Staden]

[Text]

"Once in Parliament we intend to change South Africa, we intend to bring the black majority into the system and are not abandoning our disfranchised friends."

This was the message last night of Mr Amichand Rajbansi. He was addressing a tricameral election meeting in Laudium, near Pretoria.

Mr Rajbansi said that his National People's Party rejected the new constitution but that "rejection need not be boycott".

The meeting was "by invitation only" and tight security kept a strong United Democratic Front and Azapo contingent out of the hall.

No incidents were reported.

Inside the hall, Mr Rajbansi told about 400 people that he had rejected the Constitution from the outset and had demanded that it be placed before the Indian community via a referendum.

"We insisted on a Bill of Rights and a Government declaration that all discriminatory legislation would be removed from the statute books before we could support the new constitution. When this was not forthcoming, we demanded a referendum," he added.

Mr Rajbansi said that this demand had been ignored because at that stage there was no plan to hold a referendum for any group.

"Later the Solidarity Party (a rival for seats in the House of

Delegates) convinced the Government that a referendum would be waste of time and money," Mr Rajbansi said.

"We were far from happy with the situation but once the white electorate had given the new Constitution the go-ahead, we were forced to make a choice.

"We could follow the path of boycott, or we could participate while making it clear that we still rejected the plan," he added.

He said that the correct tactics consisted of a mixture of boycott and negotiation.

"Do not underestimate the determination of the white man to stay in this country. Confrontation will not succeed," he said.

He asked that no judgment be passed on him or his party now. "Wait until you see how we perform first," Mr Rajbansi said.

He pointed out that the combined votes of the House of Delegates, the House of Representatives (coloureds), and the PFP in the white House of Assembly, was sufficient to defeat a Government motion in spirit if not in law.

"I know the system will not operate on such a combination of votes and that the President's Council can overrule us. But, ask yourself this: how many times can the President's Council overrule us while the whole outside world is watching and waiting for change?" Mr Rajbansi said.

'INFLUX CONTROL' LEADS TO JOB FEARS, STUDY REVEALS

Johannesburg SOWETAN in English 20 Jul 84 p 5

[Article by Joshua Raboroko]

[Text]

THERE is a growing fear that more workers, especially migrants will lose their jobs because of lack of job security and the "influx control" policy.

In a paper entitled "Recent Developments in Labour Law and Influx Control," a senior member of the Legal Resources Centre, Mr Geoff Budlender, says loss of employment is always a serious matter for workers.

He says: "The influx control policy raises the cost very substantially, because of the consequences that may arise.

Strikes

"A migrant worker losing a job means that he or she is required immediately to leave the area, to register at the tribal bureau in the "homeland" as work-seeker, and to sit and wait there until recruited for work in the towns."

He says that the prospects of recruitment are very poor in that a substantial period of unemployment is the very probable result of dis-

missal for a migrant worker.

Job security was the most important issue for workers, particularly at a time of high unemployment. A very substantial proportion of strikes is related to job security issues such as dismissals and retrenchments.

"Those are by and large the sort of matters which have come before the industrial court recently," he contends.

Referring to influx control laws, he says some "pass law" legislation aims to keep black people out of the "white" areas while others aim to bring them in or prevent them from leaving.

Foreigners

At the heart of the influx control is the citizenship question.

Firstly there are those who are "new foreigners", meaning those who come from so-called "independent homelands" secondly "aliens" meaning those who have never been South Africans and then those who are South Africans but belong to "homelands" that have not opted for "independence."

As the "homelands" take constitutional independence, the proportion of black people who are citizens of SA drops. The relevance of this to influx control is that they lose their Section 10 rights, thus increasing the number of migrants.

The consequence of this is that people with no rights are enticed into becoming participants in the industrial council system and into agreements which are actually a form of legislation.

COMPLEXITY OF OIL BUYING PROBLEM HIGHLIGHTED

Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL in English 11 Jul 84 p 8

[Editorial: "A Question of Control"]

[Text]

THE oil scandal hasn't disappeared. Contrary to the Advocate-General's report to Parliament, which exonerated the Government and its agencies after allegations of corruption in buying oil, several important questions must still be answered definitively.

Extraordinary as it may seem, the Progressive Federal Party is under attack for bringing claims about irregularities in the oil supply to the attention of the Prime Minister. Although it behaved impeccably, the PFP now stands accused of scandal-mongering by the National Party, its mouthpieces and the two other parties in Parliament. The unseemly glee at the Advocate-General's findings is really nothing more than a political sigh of relief.

In passing, it is worth noting the strange haste with which the select committee had to study the report — the members received it on Thursday and had to report by Friday. Surely a complex matter of such great importance deserved greater care — particularly if we are to give credence to reports that only the PFP members read the full report.

Because of the extremely sensitive nature of getting hold of oil, much must of necessity remain confidential and with that we have no quarrel. However, the bland statements of the Advocate-General's report do little to satisfy the legitimate curiosity which thinking South Africans must have.

The questions remain, and one must ask whether the Advocate-General has the resources to investigate fully the complex issues involved in buying oil. Repeatedly in his report he used the phrase "on the evidence available". The call for a parliamentary select committee to investigate in more depth the important allegations which have been made is therefore quite correct and the establishment of such an inquiry imperative.

It would have the time, the people, and the money to spend on giving fully informed answers to these questions: Has South Africa, more specifically its taxpayers, paid more for oil than it should have? Have people, Government employees and oil suppliers, been unduly enriched in the clandestine process of getting oil despite the international embargo? Just what is the role of that shadowy figure, Mr Marino Chiavelli, in the oil business?

Although he found no evidence of corruption, the Advocate-General himself recommended a tighter set of controls over buying oil. Had the PFP not brought the allegations to the Government's attention, these recommendations would not have been made. That is what responsible opposition is all about.

We have repeatedly urged the Government to be as frank about oil as circumstances allow. Scoring political points off the PFP hardly falls into that category.

Being as open as possible entails allowing the Auditor-General full access to records of oil transactions and it entails placing under the jurisdiction of Parliament the control of oil deals. After all, if you can't trust the Auditor-General and Members of Parliament, who can you trust?

UNCERTAINTY, CONTROVERSY FORESHADOW REFORM PROCESS

Johannesburg SUNDAY TIMES in English 8 Jul 84 p 21

[Article by Brian Pottinger: "And Now the Bricks of Reform Start To Drop into Place..."]

[Text]

SLOWLY the pieces start falling into place. From the void once labelled "the future of local government" emerge road signs pointing to a dramatic reshaping of the country's kerbside politics.

Prodigious efforts — 120 experts in six committees working 9 500-man hours — have delivered a trilogy of draft laws that will help rewrite city and village administrations.

The initiative holds out the promise of socio-economic gains for black, coloured and Indian communities in urban areas. But it also presages some tough "political" scraps.

The three Bills presented this week are a masterful balancing act within the tight dictates of the Government's apartheid ideology; the big "white" cities against the poor "black" suburbs, socio-economic interests versus political expectations, decentralised administration versus strong central control. And, ultimately, the image of power-sharing against the reality of domination.

But — as so often happens — these first tentative steps fail to address more major divisive issues.

The Local Government

Bodies Franchise Bill reflects some consummate balancing between the conflicting franchise qualifications of the various provinces — from the Free State's strict qualifications to the Transvaal's everybody in.

Extra vote

The result — very similar to earlier President's Council proposals for weighted or loaded franchises — is one vote a resident, an extra vote for a property owner and a "juristic vote" for businesses.

Votes for residents will be particularly acceptable to the Indian and coloured communities who have large tenant populations — largely the result of the structural upheaval caused by the ruthless implementation of Group Areas removals in years gone by.

But the added vote for property owners is in line with the Government's current policy of encouraging home-ownership — it has, after all, 500 000 State houses on the market.

A neat balance of interests.

The second in the trilogy is the Regional Services Council Bill. It creates the

machinery for metropolitan authorities who will control the provision of "Hard Services" to their constituent members — a relatively old concept being batted around as far back as 1978 by the NRP-controlled Natal Provincial Administration.

But, of course, the crucial issue is the representation of bodies on that regional council.

Again, following PC recommendations, the Bill suggests representation should be on the basis of the financial share that constituent local authorities make towards paying for the provision of services. Thus a city which provides 40 percent of the budget disposed of by the RSC will have 40 percent of the votes.

In a bid to reduce the influence of the "core cities" — a big fear of the smaller municipalities who will serve on those councils — the proposed legislation puts a ceiling of 50 percent on the votes disposed of by a single member and demands that resolutions must be carried by a two-thirds majority vote.

Dominance

The compromise is likely to be only partly successful. The real dispute will be a "political" one between the "have" municipalities which are largely white and the "have-not" proposed new municipalities which will be coloured or Indian. With a voting precedence in the RSC the white municipalities could overrule the black ones.

The legislation does allow for dispute-breaking machinery. But no less than the central government proposals it ensures white dominance — the appeal is to the Administrator of the Province.

The third Bill is the Promotion of Local Government Affairs Amendment Bill which enables the Minister to set down certain viability criteria for the establishment of local authorities.

Disputes

Although these criteria are not spelt out they would most likely deal with demarcation, sufficient

means to ensure independent progress, capacity to maintain minimum standards, availability of trained staff, the support of local communities and availability of leaders of calibre.

Here also there is a delicate balance to be struck. The Government is committed to a "devolution of power" to local authorities. On the other hand the Minister of Constitutional Development retains a strong hand.

The reason is obvious; reform at local authority level sometimes needs a push — especially when dealing with recalcitrant white rightwing (and other) local authorities.

But the fancy government footwork on this week's three Bills cannot hide the fact that major political disputes are pending over the whole system of local government.

The first has to do with very concept of racially separate local authorities. The President's Council was explicit that ethnicity must not be the only nor the decisive factor in the establishment of a local authority.

Government has made clear — to the contrary — that it will be a decisive factor.

The seminal Yeld and Slatter committees of the '70s turned up enough evidence of Indian and coloured community rejection of racially autonomous "dormitory" towns and local authorities.

Government insistence on race-based local au-

thorities, the refusal to accept the PC's proposals for integrated councils on ward bases if necessary, and the Labour Party Association's steadfast rejection of autonomous councils presages major political confrontation in the future.

Limbo

The continuing refusal of the communities to accept autonomy coupled with the difficulties of establishing financially viable local authorities could consign numerous communities to a continuing limbo of second-class representation through management committees or other quasi advisory bodies with only token representation on the host council.

Government spokesmen have made it clear they will not force anybody to accept autonomous status. But by the same token they will not be able to persuade communities to forsake their demands for direct representation on the big city councils.

The second battle front will be over financing. The final legislative form of government views will only be spelt out next year, but the Cabinet has already accepted in principle that a dramatic new funding mechanism will be needed to pay for the host of proposed new local authorities.

The proposals are more far-reaching than the PC's one of a "neutral income" — the gathering of rates on all commercial, industrial agricultural and Govern-

ment property to be distributed on a pro rata basis to the areas concerned.

New government ideas foresee an "establishment levy" on business turnover, a "service levy" on salaries and wages paid to employees and a levy on production assets.

The intention is to use the money to establish minimum standards and facilities in the coloured and Indian areas (local authorities) which have for years been the victims of State and city indifference. The proposals hold out the prospects of a major re-allocation of resources to underdeveloped urban areas.

But they are political dynamite. The Official Opposition has already made it clear it fears the effect of the levies will be to slow job creation in the metropolitan areas.

Suspicion

Then there is the long-standing suspicion that ideological blueprints are being camouflaged as development issues. The argument waging over decentralisation is likely to resurrect itself in the local government financing proposals.

And from the big cities themselves come the fear of having scarce resources sloughed off to the poorer neighbours via the metropolitan boards.

For some cities — Cape Town and Port Elizabeth for example — the problem is acute. Unlike Johannes-

burg, where the "poor neighbours" are all black, and thus the State's responsibilities, in these coastal cities with their large number of low-income coloured families the responsibility will rest on the "core city".

The final problem is the one that emerges as a traditional caveat to all discussions on constitutional change — the exclusion of black local authorities.

The RSC Bill refers only to whites, coloured and Indians, although it does not discount the possibilities of contracts being entered into between them and the black local authorities — whether the development boards or black municipalities.

But direct participation by black communities on the regional councils is out — something which will have serious implications when time comes to scrap over the division of the RSC's joint budget.

There is more than irony in the fact that the "Koorhof Trilogy" should have to be matched with a "Heunis Trilogy".

The understated words of an Administration Board witness before the PC inquiry are instructive: "A model (for local authorities) that takes the white, coloured and Indian population groups only into account, without looking at the blacks in South Africa, will find that the preponderance of numbers of the blacks will very soon turn this problem into a topical one".

How topical will these proposals become?

PATON ANALYZES GOVERNMENT'S NEW DISPENSATION

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 8 Jul 84 p 21

[Article by Alan Paton: "Oh the Irony! What We Liberals Were Doing in 1968, PW Is Trying To Do Now"]

[Text]

SO BETWEEN them Allan Hendrickse and F W de Klerk have saved the country.

They certainly have saved the Prime Minister's bacon.

If Mr Hendrickse had withdrawn his Labour Party from the new constitutional dispensation, he would have done great damage to PW's new international reputation.

It looks as though people sometimes put their country before their party. Let me be immodest and say that I have also had my day.

It was my party, the Liberal Party of South Africa, that caused Parliament to pass the Political Interference Act in 1968.

It was first proposed in 1966, and the name was laughed out of court when the late Dr E G Malherbe said it sounded like an amendment to the Immorality Act.

The Political Interference Act brought the life of the Liberal Party to an end. We did not become "defunct", as some newspapers persist in saying.

We decided to disband, because inter-racial political association had been made a serious criminal offence, and we did not see any sense in spending years in prison.

Who was responsible for this action? It was our Prime Minister of the time, Mr B J Vorster.

Who supported him to the hilt? No less a person than our present Prime Minister, Mr P W Botha, the architect of the new dispensation.

What was made a serious crime in 1968 has now, only 16 years later, become highly respectable and desirable. Well, not quite.

It has become a respectable idea that mixed racial political committees should help to shape our future. But mixed racial political parties are still outside the law.

It is no wonder that the world is rendered speechless with . . . well, let us say, just speechless.

Let us drop the irony. It is a fact that Mr Hendrickse and his party have a political clout that no "coloured" party has had before.

The Government has referred the whole issue to a select committee, and as soon as the new Parliament meets, this will become a joint committee. (Ha! Ha! — no sorry, I withdraw that).

Is this real change? I have no doubt that it is. To some of us it is small change, but to the Afrikaner Nationalist it is big change.

And it is change in the Afrikaner Nationalist that we all want.

Mr P W Botha is entering a period of recurring crises. If they are all dealt with as this one has been dealt with, there is some hope for our future.

What will the next crisis be? Mixed Marriages, Immorality, Group Areas, Population Registration? I hope the last two rather than the first two.

I don't see much point in allowing mixed marriages unless one amends the last two Acts, which undoubtedly are the cornerstones of apartheid.

With great respect to brave Helen and my learned Judge-President, I don't think there is any point in calling at this time for a Bill of Rights; nearly every law on the statute book would be challenged in the courts.

Our judges would be worn out. Dear Vause Raw is right — there would be chaos.

The passing of a Bill of Rights would "ring the bells of Heaven the wildest peal of years". But it's a long way off. It would mean that a new age had dawned.

Do I think that people like Mr Hendrickse and Dr J N Reddy are going to participate in a giant "cosmetic" swindle? No I don't.

They are going to participate in something very imperfect, but I think they may teach Mr Botha some things that he doesn't yet know.

They may teach him that the Afrikaner fear of the African is some-

thing to be confronted, not evaded.

They may teach him that the myth of the "happy homelands" is the biggest evasion of all.

They may convey to him something of their abhorrence of the heartless programme of relocations and resettlements, which in themselves alone could destroy whatever good Mr Botha may have done abroad.

I have not touched on the gravest weakness of the new dispensation. Everyone knows what it is.

Perhaps Mr Botha's new colleagues may persuade him that it requires the most urgent reconsideration.

I personally have forgiven Mr Botha for what he and his Party did to us in 1968. What we were doing in 1968, he is trying — in his own way — to do now.

Perhaps in dying, we taught him something that would take him 16 years to understand: that there is no future for South Africa unless we all — and that means all — work together in building it.

SADF TO BUILD AMMUNITION DEPOT NEAR NAMBOOM SPRUIT

Johannesburg THE CITIZEN in English 20 Jul 84 p 12

[Text]

A NEW R49-million South African Defence Force ammunition depot is to be built near Naboomspruit in the Northern Transvaal, the Minister of Defence, General Magnus Malan, announced yesterday.

He said the ammunition magazine would be erected on the farm Goedgedacht, 20 km east of the town.

After considering various sites, the Defence Force had decided on Goedgedacht because of its low agricultural potential and because the ground was already own-

ed by the State.

Construction of the magazine, which would be of a modern design providing greater safety and cost efficiency, will start in September 1985 with the completion date set for the end of 1987.

Naboomspruit will benefit by 37 Defence families who will be moving to the area.

"The location of the depot, which will fulfil the SA Defence Force's vital requirement for ammunition storage space for the foreseeable future, is in accordance with the Government's decentralis-

ation policy of Government institutions to rural areas and will make a valuable contribution to the region," the minister said. — Sapa.

CSO: 3400/2061

ZIMBABWE

BRIEFS

HARARE BUYS RADAR SYSTEM--HARARE--The Zimbabwe Air Force has bought an advanced radar system from Britain for its main fighter base at Thornhill in the midlands city of Gweru. The Sunday Mail reported that the contract for radar equipment and ground installations was worth more than R1 million. The new system will provide an advanced method of runway approach and landing guidance. The system is in service at Royal Air Force bases in Britain and abroad. The Zimbabwe Air Force relies heavily on British aircraft and back-up equipment, although it now buys from a number of countries. [Text] [Harare THE STAR in English 3 Jul 84 p 3]

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